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MUSLIM PATRONAGE TO
SANSKRITIC LEARNING

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MUSLIM PATRONAGE TO SANSKRITIC LEARNING

PART I

BY

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SUPPLEMENTS:

1. Text and Translation of
SOME LAUDATORY VERSES
on the Mahomedan Patrons of Sanskritic Learning.

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✓ 2. THE ĀSAF-VILĀSA ĀKHYAYIKA
by Jagannātha/Panditarāja.)
(ed. for the first time)

CALCUTTA

1942

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Muslim patronage to Sanskrit

learning

by J. B. Chaudhuri

Pt 1

PREFACE

This work presents for the first time a systematic history of the contribution of Mahomedan rulers and scholars to Sanskrit Learning and the manifold attempts of several Mahomedan rulers to spread the same during their rule in India. A large number of Sanskrit MSS. has been used for collecting first-hand and authentic information about the poets and their royal patrons. Some of the anthological works used for this purpose are being edited for the first time in my Series No. 4: The Saṃskṛta-koṣa-kāvya-saṃgraha.

The Supplement consists of the Sanskrit Text of some of the laudatory verses on the Royal Moslem patrons of Sanskrit Learning (along with their translations) and also of the Āsaf-vilāsa Ākhyāyikā of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, edited here for the first time.

Thanks are due to Mr. P. K. Gode, Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, for kindly lending for my use the unique MSS. of the Subhāṣita-hārāvali of Hari Kavi, Padya-venī by Veṇidatta, Sabhyā-lamkāraṇa by Jagajjīvana, the Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī of Haribhāskara, the Āsaf-vilāsa of Jagannātha and so on. As these are the only MSS. of the respective works that

are known to exist, my gratitude to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute is indeed very great.

Presidency College,
Calcutta,
1942

J. B. C.

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INTRODUCTION

Communal fraternity may be of two kinds: Sentimental and intellectual. The former implies religious fusion and the latter mutual love for the languages and literatures of each other. Both these interrelated aspects of communal harmony became manifest during Moslem rule in India. The object of the present work is to give an authoritative account of the second aspect only. So, only a brief outline of the first aspect is given below.

Power of assimilation is the characteristic feature of Indian people. Whatever be the creed, it is by and by absorbed by the great assimilating force of Mother India. The consequence in the Mediaeval ages has, therefore, been the fusion of Mahomedan and Hindu Culture and Civilization. The innermost heart of the Indian people is always alert to receive the Truth, whatever be the source and in doing so, it knows no barrier,—of caste and creed. This is exemplified best in the grand intermixture of Hinduism and Mahomedanism in Mediaeval times. Even to-day the Hindus honour no less than the Mahomedans the great reformer saint Makhdūm Saiyad Ali al Hūjwiri who was originally an inhabitant of Ghazni. His disciple Muinuddin Chishti (1142-1236), brought very close together both the Hindus and Moslems in their quest of the Supreme Soul. As a

consequence of this intermixture of both the creeds, the Husaini Brahmanas of Rajputana are found following Mahomedan practices though mostly they follow Hindu customs and rituals; again, the Imam-Shahi sect are found following the authority of the Atharva-veda and of Nīṣkalaṅka. The great saints advocating Sufism such as Nizāmuddin Aulia, Farīduddin Shakarganj, Karīm Shāh, Shāh Inayat Shāh Kalandar were either initiated to religious life by Hindu saints or themselves initiated a large number of Hindus to religious life; as a consequence, Hinduism or Mahomedanism as a creed mattered little to them. The celebrated saint Bābā Fattu of Kangra was a disciple of Hindu saint Gulab. He was worshipped alike both by the Hindus and Mahomedans of the Punjab. The Khojas and the followers of Musā Sulhāg are tremendously influenced by Hinduism while the Piran Pantha worship Nīṣkalaṅka. The Muslim lady Tāj was a great devotee of Kṛṣṇa and wrote many songs on Him as a Supreme Soul. In spiritual life there was thus a great synthesis between Hinduism and Mahomedanism—Hindus being the disciples of Muslims and vice versa—all caring for Truth and Sādhanā, not for the external superfluities of Religion. This was the time when new saints like Satyapīra were worshipped by both the communities. And this was the time when caste-system was abhorred and wilfully violated.

Thus Aṇḍāl, a woman of low caste, was worshipped by the followers of the Ālvārs in the South. The works of Pariahs like Thirupam, author of the Tiru Vayamoli, were recognized by religious leaders like Rāmānuja. Caitanya in Bengal, Saṅkaradeva in Assam, Tukā Rāmā and Nāmadeva in Mahārāṣṭra and similarly, other great religious leaders never cared for caste-system or bothered about distinguishing between Hinduism and Mahomedanism. Among the famous pupils of Rāmānanda were Ravidāsa, a shoe-maker, Senā a barbar and Kabīr a Mahomedan weaver. Kabīr's life-long mission was a synthesis between Hinduism and Mahomedanism and his noble precepts were translated into action by Nānaka, Dādu, Jiwana Dāsa, Prema Dāsa, Bijli Khan, Rajjab and others. Bawrī Sahēb, Bīru Sahib, Yāri Sāhebb, Bulla Sahēb—whether Hindu or Moslem—all took up one great mission—viz. unity between the Hindus and Moslems in religious as well as social life. Women, too, at this time, came to the forefront of religious rejuvenation as is evidenced by Nānibāi and Mātā Bāi, (daughters of Dādū), Mīrā, Aṇḍāl, Dayābāi, Kṣemā or Kṣemaśrī, Tāj and others.

This internal urge for fraternity between the two leading communities in India became manifest in Literature as well—Vernacular and Classical. The Dohās, etc. in Hindī of great religious leaders—both Mahomedans and Hindus, are the sources of inspiration

and devotion in religious life of the members of both the communities.

Bengali in particular was much enriched by this inner urge for a true religious life—irrespective of caste and creed. Quite a large number of 'Mahomedan writers—some of them poets of a high order—contributed substantially to Bengali Literature. They were mostly inspired by the Kṛṣṇa cult as preached by Śrī Caitanya; again, there were many who wrote on other subjects. Śrī Caitanya disdained racial or social distinction.¹ The result was that even rulers like Husain Shah soon became attracted to him.² Mahomedans all over Bengal not only enjoyed the Padāvalis but

✓ 1. Yavana Haridāsa was one of his favourite disciples. Again, Buddhimanta Khān became a personal attendant of Śrī Caitanya. Br̥ndāvanadāsa in his Caitanya-Bhāgavata says :—

बुद्धिमन्त खाने प्रभु दिला आलिङ्गन ।

ताहार आनन्द अति अकथ्य कथन ॥ 10th chapter

The Caitanya-caritāmṛta, chapter 10, records :—

श्रीचैतन्ये अतिप्रिय बुद्धिमन्त खान ।

आजन्म आशाकारी तिहीं सेवक प्रधान ॥

Buddhimanta accompanied him to Nilācala as well :—

बलिलेन बुद्धिमन्त खान महाशय ।

आजन्म चैतन्य आशा याहार विषय ॥ 9th chapter

2. ये हुसेन साहा सर्व उडिप्यार देशे ।

देवमूर्ति भाङ्गिलेक देवल विशेषे ।

हेन यवनेओ मानिलेक गौरचन्द्र ॥

themselves became the votaries of the Muse. Nasir Māhmud,¹ Fakir Habib,² Saiyad Martujā,³

1. Nasir Māhmud dedicates himself to the holy feet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa :—

आगम निगम वेद-सार, लीला ये करत मोह-विहार ।

नदीर मामुद करत आश, चरणे शरय दानवि ॥

His Pada of which the above is the end has been included in the Pada-kalpa-taru of Vaiṣṇavadāsa.

2. He, too, cannot live without Kṛṣṇa :—

फकिर हविय बले, कानुरे देखिनु भाले,

येन शरी पूर्ण-उदय ।

हेन मन करे हिया, कानुरे समुखे युइया,

निरवधि देखहुँ सदाय ॥

3. The following Pada of Saiyad Martujā included in the Pada-kalpa-taru of Vaiṣṇavadāsa is indeed grand :—

इयाम बैनु, आमार पराय तुमि ।

कोन शुभदिने देखा तोमा सने

पासरिते नारि आमि ॥

यखन देखिये ओ चाइ-वदने

धरय घरिते नारि ।

अभागीर प्राय करे आनूचान

दण्डे दशवार मरि ॥

मोरे कर दया देह पदमाया

शुन शुन पराय कानु ।

कुस शील सब भासाइनु जले

न जीवय तुया विनु ॥

Here the poet himself becomes a woman for 'higher spiritual blessedness' and one is naturally reminded of Cardinal Newman's statement:—"If thy soul wants to attain the higher spiritual blessedness, it must become a woman, yes, however manly thou mayst be among men".

Fatan,¹ Cānd Kāji,² etc. have sung the praise of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā as enthusiastically and religiously, as gracefully

Cp. also—St. Juan—"Make myself thy bride. I will rejoice in nothing till I am in thy arms." His Padas on the description of Kṛṣṇa, Māna, Bhāva-sammilana, etc. too are very beautiful.

1. Fatan in one of his Padas depicts Rādhā in separation. Rādhā says :—

आरे मोर एक परमाद हइल ।

छटफट करे दिया कह ना बैधुरे याइया
कि दिया किवा गुण कैल ॥

जीते मोर नाहि साध मिछामिछि परिवाद
मिछा पाके ठेकिया रैन ।

एगन करम मोर, कलङ्कर नाहि ओर,
सहिते ना पारि आर कृपा करि कर तार,

जनम अवधि दुःख पाइनु ॥

अधम फतनेर साध, जम प्रभु अपराध
राज्ञा पाय शरणा लैन ।

2. The picture of Rādhā in love as found below is indeed beautiful :—

वाँशी बाजान जानना ।

असमय बाजाओ वाँशी पराव माने ना ।

यखन आमि बेसा थाकि गुरुजनार काछे ।

तुमि नाम धरा बाजाओ वाँशी, आर आमि मइरि लाजे ॥

ओपार हते बाजाओ वाँशी, एपार हइते गुनि ।

आर अभागिया नारी हाम दे साँतार नाहि जानि ॥

ये भादेर बाँशेर वाँशी, से भादेर लागि पाँओ ।

जडे मूले उपाहिया समुनाय भासाँओ ॥

चाँद काजि बले वाँशी गुने भरे मरि ।

जीमु ना जीमु ना आमि ना देखिसे हरि ॥

and sweetly as possible. Alirājā,¹ Ākbar Sāhā,² Kabīr.³

1. He flourished somewhere near Feni in Chittagong. One of his Padāvāṇts ends as follows:—

ये शुने तोमार वंशी से बड देवेर अंशी
प्रचारि कहिते बासि भय ।
गृहवासे किवा साथ वंशी मोर प्राणनाथ
गुरुदे अलिराजा कय ॥

2. One of his Padas is devoted to the description of the physical charm of Caitanyadeva:—

जिड जिड मोर मन थोर गोरा ।
आपहि नाचत आपना रसे भोरा ॥३॥
खोल करताल बाजे किकि किकिया ।
आनन्दे भक्त नाचे लिकि लिकिया ॥
पद दुइ चारि पलु नट नटिया ।
थिर नाहि होयत आनन्दे मातोयालिया ॥
पेछन पडुके याहु बलिहारि ।
साह आकवर तोर प्रेम भिखारी ॥

3. He depicts an excellent picture of Rādhā followed by Kṛṣṇa in course of the sports during Holi:—

बरज कियरी फागु खिलत रङ्गे ।
चूपा-चन्दन, आवीर गोलाव
देयत रयामेर अङ्गे ॥
फागु हाते करि फिरत धीहरि
फिरि फिरि बोलत राइ ।
घूमट उठामे बयान लवायत
वेरि वेरि ठैते मेघसे बाँद लुकाइ ॥
ललिता एक सखी, फागु हाते करि
देयत कानु नयान ।
वृकभानु कियोरी दुहुँ बाहु धरि
मारत रयाम बयान ॥
आधोर एक सखी, जाड जाड करि
कौहा लागायो आवीर ।
कमरि फागु लेइ, कान नयान वेरि वेर देयत
हा हा करत कबीर ॥

Sekh Bhikhan,¹ Sekh Jālāl, Sekhlāla, etc. are also poets of no mean order. They have written on various Mood-types of women as described in the Alamkāra and Kāma Sāstras with particular reference to Rādhā, and also on Kṛṣṇa as Supreme Soul and Śrī Caitanya as an incarnation of God.

1. Rādhā in her "Khaṇḍitā" mood is depicted nicely in one of his Padas. Kṛṣṇa passed the night somewhere else and naturally—Rādhā's wrath knows no bounds. She takes Kṛṣṇa to task :—

सबाइ बले राधार पराय कानाइ ।
 तुमि रजनी बखिले कोन ठाई ॥१॥
 केमन वानाले चूडा, श्रवणे दुलितेले
 मेलिते नार दुटि आंखि ।
 हव ना मथरा गति, कि कब चूडार भीति,
 श्याम-अङ्ग लागियाछे साखि ॥
 कुङ्कुम कस्तूरी आर, सुगन्धि लाम्बुल,
 युइयाछिनु सियर उपर ।
 हा हरि हा हरि करि, जागिया पोहानु निशि
 तुमि छिले काहार मन्दिरे ॥
 सेल भिखन भणे, बड दुख राइयेर मने,
 पाछरिले पूरव पीरिति ।
 आमार करम दोषे तुमि धाक अन्य पावे
 इउक येन राधार मिरिति ॥

Just as, on the one hand, many Moslems helped the spread of the Hindu Culture and Civilization by honouring their religious sentiments and ideas, by following many of their rites and rituals, by patronising and contributing to Sanskrit Literature—so, on the other hand, many Hindu devotees and scholars, too, were the torch-bearers of Islamic Culture and Civilization, by preaching the innermost truth of Islam and paying homage to the Prophet and Moslem saints, by observing many Moslem practices and by patronising, and contributing to, Persian and Urdu Literature.

Thus, there was a great synthesis of Hindu and Moslem Cultures and Civilizations during Moslem rule in India. It was possible in those days for individuals of different leanings and capacities to follow the creeds and pursue the course of studies that suited them best, without communal bias and social bar. Otherwise, there could not have been so many Moslem devotees of Hindu saints, etc. and so many Mahomedan scholars in Sanskrit studies just as there could not have been numerous Hindu disciples of Moslem saints and votaries of Islamic Learning. If this could happen even during an age when the relation between the two communities was that between the ruler and the ruled, there is no inner reason why it should not be the case to-day also, when no such relationship exists.



MUSLIM PATRONAGE TO SANSKRITIC LEARNING

It is well-known that the Moslem rulers of India were great patrons of Learning and Fine Arts. But the fact that many of them liberally patronised Sanskritic Culture and Learning as well, is not generally known. Their courts were adorned with Sanskrit scholars and writers of high repute who got every encouragement, monetary and otherwise, from their royal patrons. Unfortunately, many valuable records of their scholarly achievements are irreparably lost to us and the surviving literature also is available only in MSS. scattered all over India and outside. Fortunately, however, the literature that has outstood the cruel ravages of time is not meagre and it enables us to have a clear idea as to how in spite of linguistic and religious differences many Moslem rulers of India were prone to extend their best support to the development of Hindu Culture and Civilization. This spirit of mutual tolerance and reverence for the culture and creed of each other alone can ensure a permanent bond of friendship and collateral progress of the two principal communities of India. That is why it is essential for us to investigate into the cultural advancement of the Hindus during Moslem rule in India.

Of the Sanskrit poets who adorned the courts of the Moslem rulers, three of the greatest are Bhānukara, Akbarīya-Kālidāsa and Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja. In this brochure I shall give brief accounts of their lives and literary activities on the basis of the informations collected from the various unpublished MSS. of their works and anthologies containing some of their verses, etc.

The arrangement followed here is chronological. Of the Mahomedan rulers who liberally patronised Sanskrit poets and scholars, the foremost are Shahbuddin, Nizam Shah, Sher Shah, Akbar, Shah Jehan, Muddafar Shah, Malla Shah and others. Some of the poets patronised by them are Bhānukara, Akbarīya-Kālidāsa, Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, Harinārāyaṇa Miśra, Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala, Amṛtadatta, Laksmīpati and so on. Short accounts of the lives and literary activities of these poets are given below in chronological order.

BHĀNUKARA

Bhānukara is not only the earliest of the four poets mentioned above but also seems to have enjoyed the widest popularity as a poet. The *Rasika-jivana* of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa, *Sabhyālamkaraṇa* of Govindajit, *Padya-veṇī* of Veṇidatta, *Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī* of Hari-bhāskara, *Subhāṣita-hārāvalī* of Hari Kavi and *Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya* which are not as yet published contain

about 160 verses of Bhānukara. The Padya-racanā published in the Kāvya-mālā Series alone contains 180 verses many of which are not found in the above six unpublished anthological works.

LIFE AND DATE

Bhānukara vs. Bhānudatta and personal history

The evidence of the anthological works is in support of the identity of Bhānukara and Bhānudatta, author of the Gīta-Gaurīśa and its ṭippaṇa, Kāvya-dīpikā, Rasa-mañjarī and its commentary as well as Rasa-taraṅgiṇī all of which are available in print and also of the Kumāra-bhārgaviya (a campū based on the Purāṇas), Alamkāra-tīlaka and Śṛṅgāra-dīpikā which are as yet unpublished.¹ Quite a large number of verses quoted under the name of Bhānukara are traced in the Rasa-mañjarī,²

1. Kumāra Bh., India Office Library MS. 1540. Alamkāra T., Tanjore MSS. Catalogue. IX. 1407 and Mysore, 295. Śṛṅgāra D., Cat. Cat. I. 661.

2. अयं रेवा-कुञ्जः, etc.=SA. 234=RM. 21, p. 50; आजपं किल, etc.=SSS. 836=RM. 4, p. 9; एते वारि-क्यान्, etc.=SA. 258=SHV. 1851=RM. 26, p. 60; कर्माः कम्पित-रसाल, etc.=SA. 270=RM. 29, p. 65; कान्ते कनक-जम्बीरं, etc.=SA. 327=RM. 112, p. 138; चन्द्रोदये चन्दनं, etc.=SA. 303=SSS. 178=RM. 79, p. 141; तमोज्ज्वाले, etc.=SA. 326, v. 111, p. 178; एवं दूति निरगाः, etc.=SSS. 606=RM. 33, p. 75; त्वं पीयूष, etc.=SA. 317=RM. 100, p. 166; दासाय भवन, etc.=SA. 246=RM. 24, p. 57; दुःखं दीर्घतरं, etc.=SHV. 1944=RM. 39, p. 91; दूती विष्णुपागता=SSS. 177=RM. 75, p. 136; दृष्ट्वा प्राङ्मुख, etc.=SA.

Gīta-Gaurīśa.¹ and Rasa-taraṅgiṇī of Bhānudatta.²

(2) The same verses are found in different important anthologies under the names of Bhānukara and Bhānudatta. (3) One of Bhānukara's verses (Serial no. 789) has been quoted by Veṇidatta in his Padya-veṇī

273=RM. 32, p. 72; नल-कलमुरःस्थले, etc.=SSS. 752=RM. 11, p. 25; नायं मुञ्चति etc.=SA. 690=RM. 86, p. 149; निद्रालु-केकि०, etc.=SA. 267=RM. 28, p. 63; नीराचीरमुपागता, etc.=SA. 189=RM. 5, p. 11; पल्लीनामधिपस्य, etc.=SSS. 181=RM. 81, p. 142; माला बालाम्बुज०, etc.=SSS. 582=RM. 41, p. 94; रभसादपि, etc.=SA. 292=RM. 78, p. 239; लोलालिपुञ्जे, etc.=SA. 206=RM. 12, p. 30; शङ्का-शृङ्गलितेन, etc.=PV. 464=RM. 105, p. 172; गूढं कुञ्ज-गृहं etc.=PV. 361=RM. 56, p. 114; संस्पृश्य स्तन०=SSS. 20=RM. 10, p. 22; स्नातं वारिक्०, etc.=SA. 288=PV. 363=RM. 62, p. 121; हस्ते धृतादपि, etc.=SSS. 825=RM. 7, p. 15,

1. आत्मोयं चरञ्चं दधाति=Padya-racanā, p. 72, v. 3=Rasa-mañjarī, 1=Gīta-Gaurīpati, p. 90, 2; अकरोः किमु नेत्र-शोषिमानं, etc.=Padya-racanā, p. 53, v. 5=Rasa-mañjarī, v. 51=Gīta-Gaurīpati, p. 146; जीवेन तुलितं प्रेम, etc.=Padya-racanā, p. 42, v. 18=Gīta-Gaurīśa, p. 18, 4; वदेतल्लावण्यं, etc.=Padya-racanā, p. 7, v. 38—with slight alterations in reading=Gīta-Gaurīśa, p. 48, 7.

2. विना सायं कोऽयं समुदयति, etc.=Rasika-jivana, fol.=Padya-racanā, p. 33, v. 25=Subhāṣita-hārāvalī, v. 89=Rasa-taraṅgiṇī Benares ed., p. 14; भिन्नौ भिन्नौ प्रतिफलगतं, etc.=Padya-racanā, p. 72, v. 21=RT., p. 42; निष्पीते कलशोद्भवेन जलचौ, etc.=Padya-racanā, p. 21, v. 32=Sūkti-sundara, =RT., p. 45a; सौन्दर्यस्य मनोभवेन गङ्गा, etc.=Rasika-jivana=RT., p. 53; अनुवनमनुयान्तं बाष्प-धारि, etc.=PR. p. 86, v. 19=RT., p. 77; भूयादेव सतां हिताय, etc.=PR. p. 2, v. 10 दिव्यहरेर्मल-कुहरे, etc.=PR., p. 87, v. 26=RT, p. 81a.

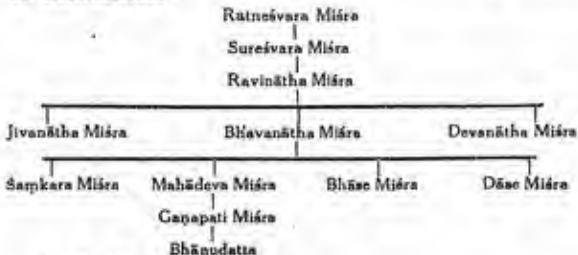
as 'Gaṇapatiputra-Bhānukarasya' and from the last verse of the *Rasamañjarī*³ etc. as well as from the *Pañjis* of Mithilā,⁴ we come to know that Bhānudatta was the son of Gaṇapati. (4) Moreover Bhānudatta refers to Nizāma-Dharaṇipāla in verse 121 of his *Rasa-mañjarī*¹ and in the anthologies several verses ascribed to Bhānukara are devoted to the eulogies of Nizam Shah.

Thus it seems that Bhānukara is really identical with Bhānudatta. His father's name was Gaṇapati as given in the *Padya-veṇī*, *Rasa-mañjarī* as well as the *Pañjis* of Mithilā, etc. Unfortunately, however, nothing is known about his mother, early life etc.

1. यशोधननिधिः, etc.

2. तातो यस्य गद्येश्वरः कवि-कुलालङ्कार-बृहामणि-
द्वयो यस्य विदेहभूः छरसरित-कङ्गोल-किर्मीरिता ।
पद्येन स्व-कृतेन तेन कविना श्रीमानुना योजिता
वाग्देवी-श्रुति-पारिजात-कुसुम-स्पर्धाकरी मञ्जरी ॥

3. The *Pañjis* of Mithilā furnish the following lineage of Bhānucandra :



4. P. 190, Benares ed.

Bhānūdatta himself gives his own genealogy in the Kumāra-bhārgaviya which is quite in agreement with the evidence furnished by the Pañjis of Mithilā except that in the former Viśvanātha is represented as the son of Sureśvara and Ravinātha as the grandson of Sureśvara, not his son.¹

Date.

In one of his verses Bhānukara eulogises Sher Shah.² As Sher Shah ruled from 1540-1545 A.D., it is evident that Bhānukara flourished in the first half of the sixteenth century, if not a bit earlier.

Again, two verses of Bhānukara devoted to the praise of one mighty ruler Kṛṣṇa are preserved in the Padya-racanā of Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa Āṅkolakara.³ This Kṛṣṇa was, most probably, emperor Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagara who ruled from 1509-1530 A.D.

1. See India Office Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., Vol. vii, p. 1540.

2. श्लोकाद्यं वा तदर्थं यदि हि विनिश्चितं तूष्णं दुर्दुःस्वैः
किं नलिहन् तदा स्यात् कवि-कुल-विदुषां काव्यकोटीधरायाम् ।
वाहारवेद् गन्धवाहाधिक-सुभग-रयाः पञ्चषाः काव्य-सञ्ज्ञाः
का हानिः शेरसाह-सितपि-कुलमशेरशकोटीधरस्य ॥

3. (a) कृष्णं समर-समृद्धं दृष्टवतो [भान्ति] विहरन्नवसः ।
राजन्य-जन्म-मूले भुज-मूले पुस्तक-मुकुलानि ॥

(b) प्रस्थानं रति मन्दिरात् कमलिनी-बन्धोरपि प्रेक्ष्य
काकुः केलिविधि विनाऽपि चरण-न्यासः पृथिव्यामपि ।
किं च क्लान्तमतालवृन्तपवनः प्रत्यङ्गमालिङ्गति
दृष्टव्यं किमतोऽपि कृष्ण-नृपतेः प्रत्यधि-वामभ्रुवाम् ॥

In several verses¹ Bhānukara eulogises one Nizam Shah. Either of the two Nizams who were ruling in India in the first half of the sixteenth century may be referred to by Bhānukara in his verses. One was Boorhan Nizam Shah I and the other Nizam Khan, later on known as Sikander Lodi (1489-1517 A.D.). It is more likely that the former is meant as in some of the verses the Nizam is also addressed as Nizam Shah. Now, Nizam Shah was a general title of the rulers of the Nizam Shahi dynasty whose ruling period extended from 1497 A.D. to 1637 A.D. The particular Nizam Shah who was ruling during the period of Sher Shah's reign was Boorhan Nizam Shah I who ruled from 1510 to 1553 A.D. As he ruled about 43 years, probably the majority of the verses of Bhānukara referring to Nizam Shah would refer to him. The poet referring to Sher Shah as ruler (1540-45 A.D.) cannot be young in age as he professes in the same verse that he himself composed a very large number of verses by that time. Boorhan Nizam Shah already ruled for 39 years when Sher Shah was crowned king. He ruled for 13 years more after the accession of Sher Shah to the throne. Unless the poet was very long-lived, he could not probably praise any other living ruler of the Nizam Shahi dynasty except Boorhan Nizam Shah I.

1 See under the heading *Patrons of Bhānukara*.

In three of his verses¹ Bhānukara refers to one king Virabhānu who is represented as lording it over the kings of Delhi, Orissa, Bengal and Gujrat. There were several kings of the same name who ruled before the time of the poet himself² and therefore he could not refer to them as living rulers in his verses. The reference may be to king Bhānu of the Kacchapa dynasty, father of Bhagavantadāsa and grandfather of Mādhava-

1. (a) लङ्का-श्वामनि वीरभानु-वृत्तेः प्रेक्ष्य प्रतापोदयं
प्रत्यागारमधीर-नीरजहृषो भूवो हुताश-भ्रमात् ।
सुभ्यद्वाणि विभूत-याणि विगलन्मुक्ता-भणि प्रस्त्रजदु-
वाप्य-श्रेणि विलोल-प्रेणि क्षयितं कण्ठ-स्थले विध्रति ॥

Padya-veṇī, Ms., v. 68 and Sūkti-sundara, Ms., v. 102.

- (b) भेरी-भाङ्गतिभिस्तुरङ्ग-निनदैः कुम्भीन्द्र-कोलाहलेः
प्रस्थाने तप वीरभानु दलितं मङ्गावट-भागदोदरम् ।
आधाय ज्वलति प्रताप-दहने रङ्गैः पुनर्वेषसा
तारानावक-तारका-सुरसरिद्व्याजादिवाऽऽयोजितम् ॥

Padya-veṇī, Ms., v. 114; Sūkti-sundara, Ms., v. 150.

- (c) दिल्लीशो द्वारदेशे नमति गजपतिस्तत्परस्तादुपास्ते
गौदेन्द्रो नम्रमूर्धा तदनु नरपतिर्गुर्जरोर्वीरवरोऽपि ।
अत्वेव वन्दि-बुन्दाददगत-वदनो गौरवं तत्र कुर्वन्
वीर श्रीवीरभानो रचयसि पुलकं वीर-लक्ष्मी-कपोले ॥

Sāra samgraha of Saṁbhudāsa Paṇḍita, Ms. of RASB., 31A.

2. See List of Inscriptions and sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India by Robert Sewell, Madras, 1884, p. 47 (Virabhānudeva inscriptions are dated 1235, 1237-1240 A.D.). Inscriptions of Madras Presidency by Raṅgācārya, vol. III, p. 2055, etc. The Ganjam (274) and Vizagapattam inscriptions (96-97) of Virabhānu are dated Śaka 1275 (1353 A.D.) and 1298 (1376 A.D.) respectively.

siṃha and Mānasiṃha. Mādhavasīṃha as the patron of Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala, author of the Rāga-mañjarī, has been referred to by him in his work.¹ The same work also mentions that Mādhavasīṃha the patron and his brother Mānasiṃha were great favourites of emperor Akbar who ruled from 1556 to 1605 A.D. So chronologically there is not much difficulty in Bhānukara's referring to the grandfather of Mādhavasīṃha, favourite of Akbar. But it is more probable that by Vīrabhānu, Bhānukara really refers to Vaghela Vīrabhānu² of Rewah (1540-1555 A.D.) who was married to Sukumāradevī and father of Rāmacandra who ruled from 1555 to 1592 A.D. and was a contemporary of Akbar. There is no chronological difficulty; again, reference to Vaghela kings in the verses of Sanskrit poets of the sixteenth century A.D. and the liberal patronage extended by

1. श्रीमद्वल्हप-वंश-दीपक-महाराजाधिराजेव-
तेजःपुत्र-महाप्रताप-निकरो भातुः क्षितौ राजते ।

2. Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. XXI, pp. 279ff. In a MS. of Somadeva's Kathā-sarit-Sāgara copied by Rūpaṇi who enjoyed the patronage of Bhāvasīṃha, one of the descendants of Vaghela Vīrabhānu of Rewah, the lineage of Vīrabhānu is given; vide MM. Haraprasad Shastri's Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, vol. VII. For a further reference to Vīrabhānu of Rewah, see Pradyotana Bhattacharya's commentary Sārādāgama on Candrāloka (Kashī Sanskrit Series, No. 75). The account given here is slightly confusing.

Vaghela kings to Sanskrit scholars, confirm our conjecture.

All the above evidences lead to the conclusion that Bhānukara or Bhānudatta flourished during the first half of the sixteenth century A.D. Patrons of the poet were Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagara, Virabhānu of Rewah, Nizam Shah as well as Sher Shah.

Another evidence helps the positive determination of the lower limit of the date of Bhānukara or Bhānudatta. In connection with showing that some poets wrongly use "Purataḥ" in the sense of "in front of", Jagannātha quotes in his *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara*¹ the very first line of the *Rasa-mañjarī* of Bhānudatta—*आत्मोयं चरणं दधाति पुरतो निम्नोन्नतायां भुवि* । Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, author of the *Asaf-vilāsa* was connected with the court of Shah Jahan who ascended the throne in 1627 A.D. Therefore, Bhānukara quoted by Jagannātha must have flourished before that date.

Patrons of Bhānukara.

Bhānukara was liberally patronised both by Hindu and Moslem rulers of his time. As we have seen, he adorned the court of king Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagara, Virabhānu of Rewah, Sher Shah and Nizam

1. इदमप्यन्यत्तरैव वाचकोपमेव-सुप्तायामुदाहरणं निरमीयत, etc., pp. 271-272 of the *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara* with Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa's commentary, Benares ed.

Shah. Therefore, he seems to have been wandering from place to place, from one court to the other, although we have no means of knowing the exact period of his stay in each.

He appears to have a very great respect for Nizam Shah as he devoted as many as nine verses to his eulogy. Most probably, he wrote many more verses in his praise which are now lost to us. In his verse devoted to the description of the physical charm of the Nizam¹, the poet fancies that the eye of the lovely-browed one, unable to distinguish between Kāma and Nizam, approaches the ear for its help in the matter. In another,² he declares that the beautiful foot of the Nizam was made by the Creator for being placed upon the head of the wife of his enemy; the parting line of the hair, the vermillion-dust and the *kundas* on the head represent the foot of the Nizam with shooting rays and beautiful nails.

In one verse³ he praises Nizam Shah for making magnificent gifts. In order to keep a record of his gifts, Brahmā used the Mandākinī as a piece of chalk and drew a long line on the floor of his house Puṣkara. Brahmā was on the look out for another person at least who would be Nizam's rival in the award of gifts. As he

1. Padya-racanā, 17. 6

2. Padya-racanā, 16. 4

3. Padya-veṇī, MS., v. 100

could not find out any, he put a dot by the side of that line which is nothing but the moon.

In one verse¹ Bhānukara gives a glorious description of the march of Nizam Shah for conquest. When he marches out, the earth faints away under the pressure of, and on account of the physical torture caused by, the hoofs of horses. Therefore the sea, terribly perturbed and agitated in roaring waves, sprinkles water on her. The Lady presiding over the quarters flutters the flag, generating violent wind; and the dust-storm dashes towards the sky in order to ask the divine physician Āśvina about the remedy for recovery from swoon.

In the verse on the sword of the Nizam,² the king is highly praised for his military skill. His sword is so handled that it instantaneously kills innumerable mighty elephants of his enemies who are consequently vanquished in a moment.

In the verse devoted to the victory of the Nizam in battle,³ the poet says that when the Nizam casts his angry look at his enemies, they all break atwain; even the sun high above begins to tremble and in order to save his own skin has recourse to the banner of all-conquering Nizam.

1. Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī, MS., v. 91; Padya-veṇī, MS., v. 113; Rasika-jīvana, MS., fol. 18.

2. Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī, 85; Sūkti-sundara, v. 134

3. Padya-veṇī, MS., 132.

In the verse on the flag of the Nizam¹ the poet's fancy takes a lofty flight. He assumes that the flag of the Nizam is nothing but the tongue of the earth stretched out on account of the heavy pressure of the army on the same. Similarly, in the verse on the prowess of the Nizam.² On account of the excessive heat of the king's prowess, the gold all over the universe, even of the Sumeru, melts; as a consequence, the stairs of Indra's palace situated on it fall down, even the sun sinks within the melting gold again and again and the women there are terribly terrified.

In one verse³ Bhānukara describes the world-wide fame of his patron. Brahmā is engaged in making verses on the glorious deeds of the Nizam with the help of a chalk. The long syllables in the verse stand for the curved lines representing the lunar disc, the conch, the jasmine and the swan and the short ones for the lotus-stalk, the snake, the Mandākinī and the tusks of an elephant.

Unfortunately, only one verse of the poet in praise

1. Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī, v. 84; Sūkti-sundara, v. 143 and Padya-veṇī, v. 131

2. Padya-veṇī, v. 69 and Sūkti-sundara, v. 105; Rasika-jīvana, Ms. No. 140 (Kāvya) of Calcutta Sanskrit College, fol. 13.

3. Padya-racanā, 10. 8 and Rasika-jīvana, Ms. No. 140 (Kāvya) of Calcutta Sanskrit College, fol. 15.

of Sher Shah is left to us.¹ Here, he says that it matters little to a poet of his standing who has to his credit innumerable verses if in a verse, or one half of it, the fastidious manage to find some fault or other just as it matters little to Sher Shah if out of crores of horses vying in motion with wind, some five or six happen to be lame or one-eyed.

BHĀNUKARA AS A POET*

The verses of Bhānukara collected from unpublished anthological works may be classified as follows:—

I. *Gods and incarnations of Viṣṇu* (6 verses).

1. Gaṇapati...SA. I (See also Bhānu Miśra for another verse on Gaṇapati, PT. v. 7, p. 3.)
2. Śiva...SHV. 27
3. Kṛṣṇa...PV. 866
4. Varāha...PV. 853 = SHV. 46 (Viṣṇu)
5. Paraśurāma...PV. 858
6. Buddha...PV. 864 = SHV. 74 (Viṣṇu)

II. *Kings* (16 verses)

1. Nizam or Nizam Shah...6 verses: PT. 85 = SS. 134 (description of sword); PV. 69 = SS. 105 (description of prowess); PV. 100 (description of gifts); PV. 132 (description of the flag);

1. SHV. v. 468.

* For additional verses in the Padya-racanā, see Appendix, Verses of Bhānukara quoted in the Padyaracanā.

PT. 84=SS. 143=PV. 131 (description of the flag); PT. 91=SS. 168 (description of the battle-field).

2. Sher Shah...1 verse: SHV. 468
3. Vīrabhānu...3 verses: PV. 68=SS. 102 (description of prowess); SS. 150=PV. 114 (description of the marching of the king). The former reads वीरभान and the latter gives the reading वीरवर्य । One verse in the Sāra-saṃgraha of Sambhudāsa, दिङ्गिरी द्वार-देशे, etc.
3. Contd.?...2 verses: PV. 161 (the flight of the enemy [यस्य शीघ्रतर-दहन-ज्वालाभिः, etc. may refer to वीरभानु] SS. 163 (description of the battle); the word भानु in the verse may have a bearing upon the name of the king.
4. Kings in general...3 verses: PT. 107 (the flight of the enemy); SS. 172 (the city of the enemy); PT. 95=SS. 156 (description of the battle); SS. 131 and 132 (the assertion of a hero vanquishing others).

III. *Sentiments* (5 verses)

1. Karuṇa...PV. 793
2. Raudra...PV. 810
3. Śānta...PV. 812
 - Śāntasya paścāttāpa...PV. 815
 - Śāntasya... PV. 819

IV. *Women*

1. Stage of life...(7 verses)
 - a. Vayah-samdhī...3 verses: SA. 189; SA. 192; SSS. 799 and SSS. 798
 - b. Taruṇaṃ vayah...4 verses: SSS. 817, 825, 835; SA. 199, 836
2. Beauty of features...(12 verses)
 - a. Face...2 verses: PT. 136=SHV. 1637; SHV. 1647
 - b. Mark on the forehead...SA. 74
 - c. Eyes...SA. 80
 - d. Arm-pit...SA. 115
 - e. Romāvalī...2 verses: SA. 137 and SA. 139
 - f. The middle of the body...2 verses: SA. 134; SA. 135
 - g. Thighs...PV. 199
 - h. General description...2 verses: SHV. 1749 SA. 62; SA. 53 (suppleness of the body).
3. Types...(31 verses)
 - a. Paroḍhā...SA. 234
Sāmānya-vanītā...2 verses: SA. 273; PV. 321
Atiśrabdha-navoḍhā...PV. 305
Prema-garvitā...2 verses: SA. 278 and SA. 279
Virahiṇī...SHV. 1944
„ -anutāpa...SHV. 1933

Virahiṇi avasthā-varṇana...SHV. 1952

„ pralāpa...SA. 697

Mānini (heading Bhartuḥ śuśrūṣā in the
SA.; it is really a verse on Mānini)...

SA. 222

Vāsaka-sajjitā...SA. 402

Karkaśā...PV. 387

Kalahāntarītā...SA. 756

Vipralabdā...PV. 361

Utkā...SA. 288 = PV. 363

Madhyā Dhirāḥ...SA. 206

Kriyā-vidagdhā...SA. 246

Vṛtta-surata-gopanā...SA. 236

Vartīṣyamāṇa-surata-gopanā...SA. 238

Vṛtta-vartīṣyamāṇa-surata-gopanā...SA. 240

Kulaṭā...SA. 258; SHV. 1851

Kulaṭopadeśa...SA. 260

Bhāvi-sthānābbhāva-śaṃkayā...SA. 267

Bharturgamanānumānena...SA. 270

Anuśayānā...SA. 264

Abhisārikā: saṃcāra-kathana...SSS. 177

Jyotsnābhisārikā...SA. 303 = SSS. 178

Divābhisārikā...SSS. 181

Dūtī:

(a) Nāyakasyāgre Dūty-uktil...SSS. 582

(b) Dūty-upahāsa...SSS. 606

V. *Men* (4 verses)

1. Śṛṅgāra-rasopayogino Nāyaka-bhedah tatra Anu-
kulaḥ...SA. 317
2. Śṛṅgāra-rasopayogino Nāyaka-bhedah tatra Dak-
ṣiṇah...SA. 318
3. Viyoginah pralāpah...SSS. 564
4. Kupuruṣah...PV. 766

VI. *Love* (14 verses)

- Vacana-vyaṅga-samāgama...SA. 326
 Cestā-vyaṅga-samāgama...2 verses: SA. 327
 and SA. 328
 Gamana-vighnopāya...SA. 690
 Surata-varṇana...3 verses: SA. 469 = SSS. 713;
 SA. 470; SSS. 714; SSS. 727
 Ratārambha...2 verses: SSS. 706 and SSS. 707
 Ratāvasāna...2 verses: SSS. 751 and SSS. 752
 Viparīta-surata...SA. 478 = SSS. 737
 Parakiyā-rata-praśamsā...SA. 464
 Sama...SA. 672

VII. *Nature* (8 verses)

- Morning...2 verses: SSS. 13 and SSS. 20
 Midday...SA. 529
 Evening...SA. 348; PV. 560; SSS. 148
 Moon-rise...PV. 573
 „ „ ...2 verses: SSS. 192 and SSS. 193
 Darkness...SSS. 152

VIII. *Seasons* (13 verses)

Summer...3 verses: SSS. 327; PV. 615 and
PV. 616

Rainy-season...SA. 574

Autumn...SSS. 404=SA. 591

Hemanta...2 verses: PV. 649=SSS. 423=
SA. 599; PV. 650=SSS. 424=SA. 601

Winter...3 verses: SA. 610; SSS. 451; PV.
656

Spring...2 verses: PV. 602; SA. 617

IX. *Religion: Devotion* (1 verse)

Kirtana...PT. 266

X. *Holy places, rivers, etc.* (4 verses)

Veṇī (Trivenī)...PV. 877

Maṇikarnikā...PT. 42

Lake...PV. 726

Tapovana (attributed to both Gaṇapati and
Bhānukara)...PV. 665

XI. *Anyoktis* (3 verses)

Cuckoo...PV. 690

Parrot...PV. 691

Lion...PV. 707

Cloud...PV. 717

Moon...PV. 741

XII. *Miscellaneous* (6 verses)

Khadyota...SA. 558

Bhramari-kṛīḍā...SA. 173 = SSS. 113

Vana-keli...2 verses: SSS. 82 and SSS. 83

Kavi-varṇana...PV. 789 (Here Bhānukara is expressly stated to be the son of Gaṇapati).

Vidyā...PV. 881 (Here his name is given as Bhānukara Mīśra; PT., however, attributes the verse to Bhāskara).

Bhānukara as a poet

That Bhānukara or Bhānucandra Mīśra was a poet of a high order can by no means be doubted; that he was very popular is manifest from the evidence furnished by the authors of the anthologies composed after the sixteenth century A.D. This extreme popularity enjoyed by him is due to his depth of thought and analytic power. He was a great rhetorician and naturally, his writing is very rich from the rhetorical point of view. He has dealt with various subjects as shown above; in almost every subject, there are beautiful verses which at once arrest our attention. Only a few are noticed below.

In his verse on the Buddha, he says that when the Buddha stood against the Vedas (Vedic rituals), the Om-kāra fled off, leaving aside its dot (bindu). Then it had come into the possession of Śiva who used it as

a trident (really on the top of it) and the dot began to shine in the hand of Śrīkṛṣṇa as the disc Sudarśana.¹ Here the poet suggests that Śiva and Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) came into prominence as gods after the wane of Buddhism in India. His picture of the earth as it was when it emerged out of the ocean and hung on the teeth of the Boar, is also interesting.²

His verses on the Nizam³ are of paramount interest establishing as they do a good relationship between the poet and his patron. This, among other evidences, shows that Mahomedan patronage for Sanskrit learning was not lacking in India in the sixteenth century A.D.

In a verse on the flag of the Nizam the poet assumes that it is nothing but the tongue of the earth stretched

1. पायाद्बुद्धवपुः, etc.; Subhāṣita-hārāvalī, MS., v. 74 ; Padya-veṇī, MS. v. 864. The Padya-veṇī reading is:—
माया-वद्-कुलहले ।

[बुद्ध-वर्णनम्]

माया-वद्-कुलहले भगवति व्यालोलयत्यागमा-
नोङ्कारेण भयातुरेण बलितं बिन्दुं विहाय क्वचित् ।
ओङ्कारः कर-पञ्जरं पुरमिदो भेजे त्रिशूलच्छला-
दिन्दुशक्र-मिषेण कैटभरिपोस्तस्यै कराम्भोरे ॥

2.

[वराह-वर्णनम्]

भूयादेष्ट सतां हिताय भगवान् कौलावतारो हरिः
सिन्धोः क्लेशमपास्य यस्य दशन-प्रान्ते नटन्त्या भुवः ।
तारा हारति वारिदस्तिलकति स्वर्वाहिनी मालयति
क्रीडा-दर्पयति क्षपापतिरहदेवश्च ताटकति ॥

Subhāṣita-hārāvalī MS. v. 46; Padya-veṇī, MS. v. 853.

3. See supplement.

out on account of the heavy pressure of the army on the same.¹ In another verse also on the king, Bhānukara's poetic fancy takes a lofty flight. The enemies of the king in heaven feel like fighting on hearing the violent blowing of the conch; they swing about their hands on the arrows in the form of the eye-brows of the divine-damsels who present themselves for embracing them.² In the verse on the march of Virabhānu for conquest, the poet says that the world had a crack in between on account of the sound of drums, neighing of horses and trumpeting of elephants when he started; (then) the resultant crack was removed by means of borax in the form of the Mandākinī, the moon and stars heated on the fire of the king's prowess.³ The pun employed by the poet in the verse on the plight of enemies' much enhances its beauty.

1. नृपति-निजाम-घम्-चरणार्पण-जनित-प्रभूत-पीडाभिः ।
रचयति बहिरिव रसनामस्य-ध्वज-कैतवादधनिः ॥

PT. 84 = PV. 131.

2. भङ्गैर्भिन्नाः प्रतिनृपतयः शङ्कुनादानुदाराज-
श्रुत्वा राजन् पुनरपि भुजा-द्वयद-कण्ठ-तिभाजः ।
आलिङ्गन्त्यास्त्रिदश-सदयो अ-लतां वीक्ष्य भुम्भा
चाप-भ्रान्त्या चपल-मनसो हस्तमावर्तयन्ति ॥

PT. 95 = SS. 156.

3. भेरी-भाङ्ग-तिभिस्तुरङ्ग-निनदैः, etc.
4. तादृग्द्वयद-विवर्त-नतित-मही-चक्रादपक्रामिताः
कापि कापि च कण्ठकल्यगता रेखोपरेखा-भ्रमम् ।
यस्य प्रौढतर-प्रताप-तपन-ज्वालाभिरन्ते दिशा-
मापाके निपतन्ति पार्थिव-वटौ जीर्यन्ति शीर्यन्ति च ॥ PV. 161.

The poet demonstrates the sentiment of tranquility well in one of his verses on the same. Nothing appears substantial, he says, when one looks back upon life from a very advanced stage; thus the roaming about of the past appears to be all waste of energy, acquisition of knowledge nothing but provision for wrangling about and love for women all worry due to final separation and nothing more; moreover, a man at that time wholeheartedly cares for a religious life and pines for the past part of life that appears to them almost void.¹ In another verse he longs for worshipping Dāmodara in a creeper bower at Benares, undisturbed by any woman.²

All the verses under sections 4-5 could well have been placed under the heading 'Love'. But as the *Nāyakas* or *Nāyikās* are the main objectives of the poet in the verses in question, they have been grouped under the headings—'Women' and 'Men'. Woman is almost synonymous with Love and therefore, it is only natural that out of a collection of 130 verses of a poet, only four verses are devoted to Men in love.

1. शोषी-पर्यटनं श्रमाय विदुषां वादाय विषाऽर्जिता
मान-ध्वंसन-हेतवे परिचितास्ते ते घराधीश्वराः ।
विश्लेषाय सरोज-छन्द-दृष्टामास्ये कृता दृष्टयः
कुशलेन मया प्रयाग-नगरे नाऽऽश्रयि नारायणः ॥ PV. 815.
2. परीरम्भारम्भ-स्नानदलक-वक्त्र-स्मृज-रुपां
तृणीकृत्य श्रीयामभिनव-छाया-मुग्धमयमम् ।
कदा काश्यामस्यामुपवन-सता-कुल-कुहरे
नमस्यामो दामोदर तव पदाम्भोख-नजः ॥ PV. 812.

A beautiful woman at the advent of youth is a marvel and the poet says, even the god of Love on rare occasions finds the Venus influencing his fate¹ and only a person with Br̥haspati in the eleventh zodiac sign can expect to dally with her.²

The eye is a predominant feature of the beauty of a woman; it is more beautiful than a lotus because when God weighs them in a balance, He is required to place Māṣas (Phaseolus Radiatus) on the scale of the lotus, the bees representing them as such.³

Again, a verse on the middle of a woman's body assigns a fine reason why the middle region is appropriately called a vacuum.⁴

1. प्रातः स्मेर-सरोरुहामयमुपाध्यायो दृष्टोर्विभ्रमः
पाणिः कोकिल-वाणिं पल्लव-सहाध्यायी समुन्मीलति ।
सन्दर्भो वचसां पथेलिम-सुधा-सिद्धान्त-व्येतिगडको
जानीमः कुलमायुषस्य भगवान् भाग्यालये भार्गवः ॥
SA. 198=SSS. 817.
2. वाय्वी कार्तिक-रोहिणीपति-चलत-पीयूष-कल्लोलिनी
धत्ते दृष्टिकाल-कुन्द-कलिका-लावण्य-लीलायितम् ।
नो जाने गमयिष्यतस्तव चिरादङ्गे दिनं कलिभिः
कस्य श्रीफल-पीवर-स्तनि भवेदेकादशस्यो गुरुः ॥
SA. 199=SSS. 835.
3. नयनस्य तुलां चक्रे नलिनेन नल-भ्रू वः
न्यूने च नलिने शृङ्ग-भाषानेष विधिर्दधे ॥
SA. 80
4. तुङ्गाभोगे स्तन-गिरियुगे प्रौढ-बिम्बे नितम्बे
सीमा-देशं हरति श्रुती यौवने जम्भमाशे ।
मध्यो भौः क्वचिदपि ययौ पद्मपत्रेणायाः
शून्यं मध्यस्थलमिति ततः सवतः किवदन्ती ॥
SA. 135.

Various types of heroines—Svakīyā, Parakīyā, etc. and their mood types such as Mānini, Kalahāntarītā, Utkā, Vipralabdā, etc. have also been successfully depicted by the poet. A lady-love separated from the beloved as a consequence of a quarrel takes it for granted that a man is restless and a woman, on the other hand, steady and sincere and moreover, she argues, there is no reason why two youthful persons should not from time to time quarrel, but why should these wretched creatures—the bee, the Moon, and Madana—be tormenting her all along?¹ The pangs suffered by a separated woman eat into her vitals and she presents a really painful sight² but a lady-love longing for reunion at any cost whatsoever presents in herself a much more pitiable object; she indeed goes to any length to recover her lost love³ and even a stone must melt at her solicitations.

1. वलं चेतः पंसां सहज-सरलं पङ्कज-दृशो
भवत्वेवं क्रोधः क्वचिदपि कदाचित्स्थायोः ।
दहेदङ्गं भृङ्गो विधुरपि विद्भ्यात् परिभवं
स्मरो मां मध्नीयादिति किमपि नाज्ञासिषमहम् ॥ SA. 756.
2. दुःखं दीर्घतरं वहन्त्यपि सखीवर्गाय नो भावते
शैवालेः शयनं सृजत्यपि पुनः शेते नवा लज्जया ।
क्यटे गद्गद्वाचमश्नति दृशोर्वशे न बाध्योदकं
सन्तापं सहते यदम्बुज-मुखी तद्वेद चेतोभवः ॥ SHV. 1944.
3. स्नातं वारिद्-वारिमिर्विरणितो वासो धने कान्ते
शीतिश्रन्दन-बिन्दुभिर्मनसिजो देवः समाराधितः ।
नीता जागरण-भतेन रत्ननी व्रीडा कृता वसिष्ठा
तप्तं किं न तपस्तथापि स कथं नाद्यापि नैवातिथिः ॥

PV. 363=SA. 288.

The psychology and doings of a fallen type of woman, a lady on tryst in broad day-light or at night, etc. etc. have been nicely analysed by the poet. Fallen women care for money alone and are the very anti-thesis of love¹ and do not believe even in the sympathy of God for them; they simply exclaim that He has done absolutely nothing for them.² They go to the length of inciting even their daughters—in any case, those who are very much like daughters to them—to evil acts.³

1. (a) केसः कुन्द-मिषादिवोपहसति द्रव्यैर्विहीनाजनान्
यनां ग्रन्थि-धनं विलोकिमुमिवोदुषीव-स्तनस्तिष्ठति ।
प्रमच्छेद-कृपाद्य-वह्नि-घण्टां रोमालिरालम्बते
यस्याः सा कथमस्तु चेत्तसि चमत्काराय वाम-कमाः ॥
PV. 321

- (b) हृष्टा प्राज्ञाय-सन्निधौ बहुधनं दातारमभ्यागतं
वसोजौ तनुतः परस्परमिवाश्लेषं कुरङ्गीदृशः ।
आनन्ददाय-पयांसि मुञ्चति मुहुर्मांसा-मिषाव कुन्तलो
दृष्टिः किञ्च धनागमं कथयितुं कथान्तिकं गच्छति ॥
SA. 273.

2. एते वारि-कथान् किरन्ति पुरुषान् वर्षन्ति नाम्भोधराः
शैलाः शाद्वलमुद्धमन्ति न सुजन्त्येते पुनर्वायकान् ।
ब्रूलोक्ये तरवः फलानि छवते नैवाऽऽरभन्ते जनान्
घातः कातरमालपामि कुलटा-हेतोस्त्वया किं कृतम् ॥
SA. 258 = SHV. 1851.

3. येत पौरादपि शङ्कसे हिमरुचेरप्यर्चिषो लज्जसे
भोगीन्द्रादपि चेदु विभेषि तिमिर-स्तोमादपि त्रस्यसि ।
येत कुजादपि दूषसे जलधर-ध्वानादपि क्षुब्धसि
प्रायः पुत्रि हतास्मि हन्त भविता त्वत्तः कलङ्कः कुले ॥
SA. 260.

The messenger-maidens engaged in love-intrigues are always very clever fellows. One of them reports to the lover that ever since he was away the unfortunate girl got rid of her garland of budding lotuses, pearl-necklace and waist-girdle but that was not all; her bracelets slipped down from her arms to the wrist as if to ascertain whether she had lost her pulse too.¹

The poet has also drawn good pictures of men, as distinguished from women. Howsoever, a woman may decry that a man is insincere in love-matters, the poet shows that a man also may love to the extent of madness. Almost like a woman, he piteously bewails that he is in no way an enemy of the kunda flower, honey, bee, waves of nectar, cloud, lunar disc, and lotus, but they all have turned out hostile to him simply because she puts them all to shame by her teeth, melodious voice, sweet gaze, laughter, hair, face and breast respectively, while residing in his heart.²

1. माला बालाम्बुज-दलमयी मौक्तिकी हार-यष्टिः
काञ्ची याते प्रभवति हरौ क्षुब्धः प्रस्थितेव ।
अन्यदुःखमः किमपि धमनी वर्तते वा न वेति
शातुं पार्श्वैरहह वलयो बाहु-मूर्ध्नि प्रयाति ॥

SSS. 582.

2. कुन्त्यं दन्तैर्मधु निगदितैः वदपदं हरिविलासै-
रेभिर्होष्यैरमृत-सहस्रैः कुन्तलैरम्बुवाहम् ।
इन्दोर्बिम्बं यदन-यष्टिना पङ्कजञ्च स्तनाभ्यां
त्वं जित्वा तान् (?) वससि हृदये तेन ते मां द्विषन्ति ॥

SSS. 564.

A lady-love does not always explicitly speak out that the beloved one must not go; but she has her own ways to do things. She tells him that even after death a woman never recovers from the fever of separation she once contracts; before she departs from this world she must know whether the betel-nut, flowers, sandal, water, etc. which act like poison in this life would be so painful in the other world as well.¹

Bhānukara's verses on nature are novel in conception and enchanting in expression. The night, the poet says, leaves its bower, the sky, having arranged its hair in the form of darkness that scattered all over in course of its dalliance and having worn its earring, viz. the lunar disc, as soon as the dawn appears.² Again, the morning would, no doubt, appear to many as very pleasant but it is most unpleasant to some at least. The poet draws a beautiful picture of a lady-love concealing in the morning the blue lily on her ear so that her

1. नायं मुञ्चति ह्यत्र वामपि तनु-त्यागे वियोग-ज्वर-
स्तेनाहं विहिताञ्जलिर्यदुपते पृच्छामि सत्यं वद ।
ताम्बूलं कुष्ठं पटीरमुक्कं यद् वन्धुभिर्दीयते
स्यादथैव परत्र तत् किमु विष-ज्वालावली-दुःसहम् ॥

SA. 690

2. सन्निरृद्धा चिह्नं तमोमयं यामिनी तदनु केलि-विच्युतम् ।
कुर्वती ध्वसि चन्द्र-मण्डलं कुण्डलं गगन-कुञ्जमुज्ज्वलि ॥

SSS. 13.

beloved one may not be disappointed.¹ Herself knowing that the morning is there to torment them by separation she somehow conceals the faded lily in order to save him from a rude shock and violent despair.

In one verse Bhānukara depicts the evening as a chaste wife who enters the room for having a light as soon as she sees the moon.²

The poet explains the moon-rise as follows. The night is a lady, the sky a bower, the moon a lover and the darkness her dress and therefore, the moon extends his 'kara' out of love.³ Again, he thinks that the moon-rise is due to the machination of Kāmadeva who intends to find out the stolen Sun. In order to detect the real thief, he performs a magical rite, viz. setting a dish (moon) to motion. For this purpose, Kāmadeva scatters all around uncooked rice in the form of stars; the

1. संस्पृश्य स्तनमाकलय्य वदनं संश्लिष्य कण्ठ-स्थलं
निष्पीडयाधर-बिम्बमम्बरमपाकृत्य व्युत्स्यालकम् ।
देवस्याम्बुजिनीपतेः समुदयं जिज्ञासमाने प्रिये
वामाक्षी वसनाञ्जलैः श्रवणयोनीलोत्पलं निहते ॥

SSS. 20.

2. मृगाङ्गमागतं वीक्ष्य सन्ध्या कुल-वधूरिव ।
दीपलेखा-मिषादेषा निर्विवेक निरुतनम् ॥

PV. 560=SA. 348=SSS. 140.

3. नभोलता-कुञ्जमुपागतायाः प्रमोद-पर्याकुल-तारकायाः ।
निशा-प्रियायाः स्फुरता करेण शशी तमःकञ्ज-कमुन्मुमोष ॥

SSS. 193.

cooing of the cuckoos is nothing but the chanting of mantras by him and the moon is the dish he uses.¹

In one of his verses on the summer Bhānukara has employed a pun very effectively.² Of much effect has been the use of a happily chosen word viz. Kanyā-rāśi in a verse of the description of the Autumn.³ In his description of the Hemanta the poet strikingly attributes the husband-wife relationship to the Day and the Night, during this season. The Day offers the major portion of the sky (or the cloth) to the beloved night and himself shrinks for her satisfaction.⁴

Bhānudatta was the author of the Gita-Gaurīśa with the ṭippaṇa on the same work that is a prototype of the

1. तारास्ततानि च किरन् कलक्याटनादा-
न्मन्त्राक्षराणि निगदन् कुलमेतरेषः ।
लाभाय वासर-मणोर्मुक्तित्वं सायं
सञ्चारयत्यमृतदीधिति-कांस्य-पात्रम् । PV. 573.

तारा—1. a star; 2. pupil of the eye.

स्फुरित—1. bright; 2. restless. कर—1. rays; 2. hand. This magical rite is performed even today in some parts of the country for detecting thieves.

2. SA. 529. 3. PV. 650=SSS. 424=SA. 601.

4. अम्बरमेव रमण्यं यामिन्यै वासरः प्रेषान् ।

अधिकं ददौ निजाङ्गादयः सङ्कुचितस्तस्थौ ॥

PV. 650=SSS. 424=SA. 601.

अम्बर—1. the sky; 2. the cloth. The idea is that in the Hemanta the day is very short and the night is long.

Gita-Govinda of Jayadeva, and had certainly some leaning towards religion. The authors of the anthologies consulted have not, however, cared to quote his verses on religious topics such as Śravaṇa, Manana, Kīrtana etc., the PT. being the only work to preserve one verse on the utterance of the holy name of Nārāyaṇa. Through a figure of speech known as *prativastūpamā*, the poet states that just as the digging and the levelling of the earth, etc. are useless if no seed be sown, the perusal of the holy scriptures, the Purāṇas etc. are all in vain if the sacred name of Kamalākānta be not uttered.¹

The anthologies preserve a few verses of Bhānukara on the holy places, etc. In a verse on Maṇikarnikā, he suitably employs the *Virodha alaṃkāra* in showing how a bather in the same attains the state of Śiva² and in a

1. वेदव्याख्यानं कृतं, etc. PT. 266.
2. स्नातं वारिषु निर्मलेषु जटिलो जातः पुनः कुन्तलः
काय-जालितमेव पङ्क-पटलं कण्ठे पुनः कालिमा ।
उद्दामाः खलु वीचयः परिचिताः क्रान्तः करो भस्मना
मातः श्रीमद्विकर्षि कर्ण-परुषं जल्पानि कोऽयं क्रमः ॥ PT. 42.

This is a good example of the figure of speech *Virodha*. Here the devotee means to say that he has really attained the state of Śiva on account of his bath in the Maṇikarnikā though the wording is such that the second part of each *pāda* may be interpreted otherwise.

verse on the Triveni he assigns some reason in his poetic way why its water should be darkish.¹

In his Anyokti on the Lion he illustrates how heredity works. No sooner is a cub born than it exhibits a tendency to jump upon the temple of an elephant even before sucking its mother's breast.² Thus, in his other Anyokti verses too he hints at some truth or other.

One outstanding feature of Bhānukara's composition is his great liking for the employment of figures of speech.³ The lofty flight of his poetical fancy couched in the garb of idiomatic language reaches at times the maximum height of poetic excellence, particularly with the aid of rhetorical perfection.

1. ऊरीकतुं तुहिन-किरश-प्रीतिधारामुदारं
दूरीकतुं दिनकर-कर-क्लेश-वाधामगाधाम् ।
यस्याः पुण्ये पयसि विद्यति आतुकामा त्रियामा
प्रावस्तस्यास्तिमिरततिभिः स्वामलं नीरमस्याः ॥

PV. 877.

2. जातः स्तन्यं न जग्राह क्यदीरव-किशोरकः ।
चक्षुर्व्यापारयामास कुब्जे कुक्षरशालिनि ॥

PV. 707

3. प्रतिवस्तूपमा in PT. 266; श्लेष in a large number of verses; व्यङ्ग्य-व्यतिरेक and प्रत्यनीक in SSS. 564; आर्थी-परिखण्डानु-प्राक्षित-विषमालङ्कार in PV. 815; आन्तिमान् in SA. 1; परम्परित साङ्ग-रूपक in PV. 573; सूक्ष्म in SSS. 606; एकदेश-विवर्ति-प्रतिष्ठ-रूपक in SSS. 193; etc. etc.

AKBARIYA-KĀLIDĀSA

His date

Akbariya-Kālidāsa composed a work entitled Rāmacandra-yaśaḥ-praśasti in praise of Vaghela Rāmacandra of Rewa who was a contemporary of Akbar and ruled from 1555-1592. There are two MSS. of this work as yet known, one belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 3109, Catalogue No. 8269¹ and the other to Bikaner Maharaja's Library.² Owing to the exigencies of the International situation, the first-mentioned MS. has been sent away from Calcutta to a safer place and is at present out of the reach of scholars and the second-mentioned MS. too could not be availed of in spite of my best attempts. It is expected that some more informations about this poet will be availed of from this work when the MSS. will be available in course of time.

From the colophon as given in the Catalogue—

इत्यकबरी-कालिदास-कवि-श्रीगोविन्द-भट्ट-विरचितः श्रीमहाराधिराज-राम-चन्द्र-यशःप्रबन्धः समाप्तः—

it is clear that Akbariya-Kālidāsa's real name was Govinda Bhaṭṭa. As a contemporary of Rāmacandra and Akbar, Akbariya-Kālidāsa must have flourished about 400 years ago.

1 See p. 85 of Mm. Haraprasad Shastri's Catalogue of Sans. Mss. belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. IV, p. 85, Calcutta 1923.

2 See Bikaner Catalogue of Mitra, Ms. No. 522, p. 247.

His patrons

Akbariya-Kālidāsa was one of the greatest Sanskrit poets of his age. Though he had other patrons, the name of the poet itself shows that this Kālidāsa of the sixteenth century A.D. was a great favourite of Akbar. Nothing about his parentage is, however, known. He praises in his verses several kings who must have extended patronage to him in some form or other, and he avowedly acknowledges the patronage of Akbar by assuming a name after him. Thus, he refers to Gurjarendra, Jallāla, Vaghela, Dalapati, Virabhānu-putra or Rāmacandra of Rewa and Akbar. He praises the king of Gurjara as one whose fame has pervaded the whole world.¹ King Jallāla is referred to in a beautiful verse on the wife of his enemy.² The Vaghela king praised by Akbariya-Kālidāsa was Rāmacandra of Rewa who was responsible for sending Tānasena to the court of Akbar.³ His father Virabhānu was the patron of poet Bhānukara.⁴

1. विल्कार्यं व्योम-नाज्जामल-गुरु-लहरी-कैतवात् केसरालो-
रुच्यैर्मांस्तक्य-देशे हिमकर-कपटान्मयवलीकृत्य पुच्छम् ।
द्विगुणगारुड-भम्पस्तव विशद-यशः-केसरी गुर्वरेन्द्र
ब्रह्माण्डारण्य-वीथी-गिरि-गहन-दरी-संक्रम्य चक्रमीति ॥ PV. 77.
2. जलाल कोशिपाल त्वदहित-भवेने सञ्चरन्ती किराती
कीर्त्यान्यालोक्य खान्युस्तर-खदिराङ्गार-शङ्कां विभर्ति ।
कृत्वा श्रीलयाद-स्वयम् तदुपरि मुकुलीभूत-नेत्रा धर्मती
आसामोदानुयातैरलि-कुल-निकर्ष-मण्डपां विभर्ति ।

SS. 174; PV. 168; 4th line missing in the latter MS.

3. For details about the kings of Rewa, see Dr. Hirānanda Śāstri's Memoir on the Vaghela Dynasty of Rewa, 1925.
4. See under Bhānukara.

One of his verses is devoted to the praise of king Rāma for his charitable acts,¹ particularly the gift of elephants. The king of Kābila who is said to have invaded the country of Vaghela was repulsed by the latter in spite of the former's very strong army.² In another verse he describes the sword of the Vaghela king; to him it appears like a swarm of bees emerging out of the calyx of his hand-lotus.³ In a verse in the form of a colloquy between Gaurī and Rambhā he alludes to the mighty prowess of the son of king Virabhānu i.e. king Rāmacandra of Rewah.⁴ He praises the queen of Dalapati in one verse.⁵ He describes Akbar as an

1. राम त्वहत्त-मत्तेभ-कुम्भ-निःसरदम्बुभिः ।
दिक्षु भिक्षु-गृह-द्वारि वारानिधिदधति ॥ PV. 96
2. Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī, 72 = PV. 66 = SS. 121
3. मृषैव निगदन्त्यमी जलद-कञ्जल-ज्योतिषं
महासि-सत्तिकां करे खगधेल-पञ्चानन ।
प्रताप-तपन-स्फुरत्-कर-सरोज-कोशोत्थित-
द्विरेक-लहरीति मे मनसि बुद्धिरुज्जृम्भते ॥
4. हे गौरि म हि रम्भे कनकमयनदीमेहि, लीलावगाह-
महागङ्गानन्द-मुरखे कनकमयनदी कुत्र ? केयं प्रयाति ?
वीरधी-वीरभानु-क्षितितिलक-कुलस्तम्भ-चञ्चत्-प्रताप-
ज्वाला-कङ्कोल-ताप-द्रुत-कनक-गिरि-स्वयन्द-धाराप्रवाहः ॥
PV. 65
5. चन्द्रं चन्द्रार्धचूडं चतुर्दधि-धयं चन्द्रिकां चन्द्रकान्तं
चार्यङ्गी-लोचनान्तं चमर-सहचरी-बाल-भारोच्चयं च ।
खयीकुर्वन्ति दधीकर-सिलकमपि ध्वस्त-गुर्वीति-भङ्गि
स्ववीथिं प्रेषिता रे दलपति-गृहिशि त्वघघः-स्तोम-सोमाः ॥
PV. 76

outstanding ruler who possesses the might of a lion.¹ The emperor he says, is so powerful that he extirpates all his enemies instantaneously and terrifies even the king of Ceylon.² In another verse his sword is beautifully compared with various objects.³ The *Sūkti-sundara*⁴ preserves a verse in which the poet describes the march of the Nizam for conquest. But as both the *Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī*⁵ and the *Padya-veṇī*⁶ attribute the verse to Bhānukara, the attribution of Sundarācārya does not seem authentic.

There are a few other verses which he presumably composed for pleasing some king or other.⁷

1. शार्ङ्गलोऽसि प्रकोष्ठे मयकल-करटी मांसल-स्कन्ध-कूटे
दोःस्तम्भे नागराजो ध्वनिपु जलधरः केसरी मध्य-देशे ।
धम्मिल्लो ध्वान्त-धारा मनसि जलनिधिर्भू-युगे काल-दण्ड-
स्तस्सत्यं श्रीहुमाक-कुल-तिलकमणे भीषणाक्षीष्योऽसि ॥

PV. 53

2. वीर त्वं कामु-कल्पेदकर, etc. = PT. 97 = SS. 158

3. PT. 89 = PV. 138 = *Rasika-jīvana*, fol. 14a, 29 = *Padya-racanā*, 20.27. Probably, Jallāla praised by Akbarīya-Kālidāsa (p. 34) is the same as Akbar.

4. V. 168 (see *Sahitya Parishat Patrika*)

5. V. 191.

6. बाह-व्यूह-सुर-ज्ञतां वलमर्तीं संवीक्ष्य मूर्धावर्ती, etc. = PT. 91 (भानुकर) = PV. 133 (भानुकर) = SS. 168 (अकवरी) ।

7. (a) वदन्तु देव तावकं प्रतापमेव पावकं

महा-तुषार-शीतलं वदाम हे वयं यतः ।

समेक-कन्दरान्तरे स्थितो गृहीत-कमल-

स्तवारि-भूप-नायकः प्रकम्पते मुहुर्मुहुः ॥ PV. 67

Akbarīya-Kālidāsa as a poet

Akbarīya-Kālidāsa was proud of his achievements as is manifest from one of his verses preserved in the Padya-veṇī.¹

The verses of Akbarīya-Kālidāsa that are traced may be classified as follows:—

Subject	No. of verses
1. Personal 1	
2. Deities	
a. Bhavānī ... 6: PV. 16, 36-38; SHV. 273-274	
Bhavānīcchatra ... 1: PV. 46	
Devīcchatra ... 1: PV. 47	
b. Sāmbhu ... 3: PV. 25, 14-15	
c. Gaṇeśa ... 2: PT. 6=PV. 11; SHV. 124	
d. Kṛṣṇa ... 3: PV. 33-35	
3. Animal	
The horse ... 1: PV. 126=SS. 124	
4. Love	
Virahīṇī ... 1: PV. 611=SSS. 309	
5. Nature	
a. Summer-wind ... 2: PV. 620=SSS. 330; and SSS. 329	
b. Malaya-breeze ... 1: PV. 609	
c. Moon-rise ... 1: PV. 580; SSS. 205	

(b) स्वयि प्रचलिते विभो तुरग-टाप-यङ्ग-न टङ्ग-
धरा-वलय-धलिभिः सकलमेव कीर्णं नभः ।

दिवाकर-हयावली-निरवलम्ब-सम्भारज-
अमापनयनाय किं वक्ष्यमतीत्यूर्ध्वं गता ॥ PV. 111

(c) तुङ्ग-वक्ष्यायङ्ग, etc. SS 63, see Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā

1. अनाराध्य कालीमनास्वाद्य गौरीमृते मम्भ-तन्त्राद्विना शब्द-धौर्वास ।
प्रवन्द्य प्रगल्भं प्रकटुं प्रवक्तुं विरिञ्चि-प्रपञ्चे मदन्त्या कविः कः ॥

6. Description of kings 12: PV. 53; PV. 67; PV. 76; PV. 111; PV. 168=SS. 174; SS. 63=PR. 11, 14; SS. 168=PT. 91=PV. 133; PV. 77=SS. 80; PT. 97=SS. 158; PT. 72=PV. 66=SS. 121; PT. 89=PV. 138=PR. 21, 27; PV. 65

Sword of a Vaghela king 1: PV. 139

Gifts of king Rāma 1: PV. 96

7. Anyāpadeśa ... 1: PV. 732

8. Features: Hair ... 1: PV. 259

9. Kavi-varṇana ... 1: PV. 786

Akbarīya-Kālidāsa did not professedly belong to any particular religious sect such as Śākta or Vaiṣṇava. He pays homage to Viṣṇu, Śiva, Bhavāni and Gaṇeśa. Three of his verses are devoted to Viṣṇu (including one on Kṛṣṇa), three to Śiva, eight to Bhavāni and two to Gaṇeśa.

In a verse on goddess Durgā he prays to her for protecting him from all evils in that majestic form in which she is worshipped by Indra with the Mandāra flowers that attract a large number of bees. As they sit on the golden umbrella of the goddess, they constitute another umbrella as it were and the goddess appears like wearing two umbrellas.¹ In another verse he praises the um-

1. सेवा-सारम्भ-जम्भ-प्रतिभट-रभसोन्मुक्त-मन्दार-माला-

चञ्चन्माध्वीक-धारा-बहलिम-लदरी-लम्पटालिच्छटाभिः ।

ऊर्ध्वं ब्रह्मालयाभिर्विरचित-रचनादम्बरं देवि दुर्गे

हैनच्छत्रोपरि त्वच्छिरसि मधुकरच्छत्रमव्यादभज्यात् ॥ PV. 47

brella of the goddess as a wonderful thing. No sooner is it seen than it enters the head.¹ Again, he pays homage to the goddess in her Jvālāmukhī form in two verses. Very fortunate are they, exclaims the poet, who worships the holy feet of Jvālāmukhī with bodies horripilated, eyes tearful, and heads rolling on the ground—muttering prayers in faltering accents.² Again, the poet worships her for dispelling all the gloom of his miseries by means of the shooting rays of her toes.³

He has depicted Śiva in a very pleasant as well as angry mood. In one verse he intends to deceive Pārvatī and replies accordingly to her questions regarding the identity of the person on his head. It is really the goddess Gaṅgā, traditionally, the co-wife of Pārvatī, but

1. कनकच्छत्रमम्बायाः कुले कुतुकं महत् ।
विशदेव दृष्टोरन्तर्यस्मिन्निच्छति मूर्धयि ॥ PV. 46.

The significance is that it is very pleasant to the eye ; and secondly, it remains long in the memory of the visitor. Again, the verse is designed to contain the figure of speech Virodhābhāsa.

2. चक्षुद्रोमाञ्च-वीची-निचय-कचचितैरङ्गकैः स्यन्दमान-
स्रोतोमिलोचनाञ्जैर्भञ्जितिभिरनिशं गदगदोल्लवारिताभिः ।
शोषी-पीठे लुटद्भिर्विलुलित-चिकुरैर्मौलिभिर्य भजन्ति
श्रीमन्जालप्य-पुष्पशरण-सरसिजं भाग्यवन्तस्त एव ॥
PV. 38.

3. स्फूर्जच्चक्षुःशङ्कोर-प्रमदन-पटवो भक्त-सम्पत्-समुद्रा-
नुर्ध्वं स्वस्त्रेण्यन्तश्चरन्-तल-जसदीर-तारा-कुटुम्बाः ।
भूषाद्यभूरि-ताप-प्रथमन-बहुल-ध्वान्त-विच्छेद-दत्ता
अम्ब ज्वालामुलि त्वत्-पद-कमल-नख-प्रस्फुरच्चन्द्र-विम्बाः ॥

Śiva tries to explain away the questions of Pārvatī.¹ In the verse describing Śiva in his destructive mood, he is seen with one leg lifted up for the Tāṇḍava dance and Aparṇā clinging to his body in fear; the terrible sounds of his anklets are piercing the whole world as it were.² In the third verse he describes the neck of Śiva with its dazzling bluish colour resembling various dark objects such as the waves of the Yamunā, the bed of blue lotuses, etc. and earnestly prays for getting rid of all evils.³

Gaṇeśa has been praised in two of Akbariyya-Kālidāsa's verses collected by us. In one he is found in a very happy mood, and in the other rather in a terrific

1. मौलौ किं नु मोक्ष मानिनि जलं किं वक्तु मम्भोरुहं
किं लीलालक-वेष्टिका मधुकरी किं भ्रूलता वीचिका ।
किं मेघे वषट्कारौ किमु स्तनयुगं प्रेङ्खद्-रथाङ्ग-द्वयं
सायङ्कामिति शोचयन् गिरि-धृता गङ्गाधरः पातु नः ॥

PV. 16

2. भृङ्गि-प्रस्तुत-गीति-मञ्जिम-मिलतककलरी-भाङ्कति-
स्फूर्जद्-दुङ्गुम-मण्डु-नन्दि-मुरज-न्यस्तेक-हस्तोत्पलम् ।
प्रङ्ग-अस्यदर्पणमाद्यनटन-क्षिप्तैक-पादाम्बुजं
प्रोद्यद्बुधु-रिका-भ्रष्टकृति-दलद्वज्ज्वालयदमीषं भजे ॥

PV. 14

3. कालिन्दी-वीचि-पुञ्जैः कुञ्जलय-विपिनैरिन्द्रनीलज्वालाभिः
शैवालैः कज्जलौघैरलि तिमिर-भरैर्बाल-श्रीमूल-जालैः ।
कस्तूरी-कोकिलानां ततिभिरिव महा-वाककिन्व्य-प्रपञ्चै-
स्त्र्यलोक्यं पूरयन्ती वसयतु विपद्ः शाम्भवी कण्ठ-नाला ॥

PV. 25

form. In the former he is found pulling the foliage, placed on the ear of Durgā as adornment, with his trunk; consequently, Mahādeva goes on smiling, Kārtika enjoys the fun; the confidantes and the Gaṇas also are amused.¹ In the latter he is found dancing with such high jumps that Paulomī shrieks out in fear at his sight from the top of the premises and Indra consequently begins to worship him with a view to appeasing him; the poet prays to such Gaṇeśa for his grace.²

In two verses out of three devoted to Kṛṣṇa, the poet prays to Viṣṇu for his blessings and warding off all evils. In one, his dazzling blue colour is compared to the waves of the Yamunā, a new patch of cloud and a cluster of the leaves of the Tamāla.³ In the other, Kṛṣṇa is detected by the poet-devotee in a very happy mood when he is enjoying the company of his consort

1. स्मरे वन्द्यावतसे हसति सकुतुकं वयमुत्ते सोपहासं
परयत्याली-कदम्बे गच्छ-सदसि शिशु-क्रीडितं प्रेक्षमाद्ये ।
मा मेति व्याहरन्त्यास्तुहिन-गिरि-भुवः कम्पमानाग्र-पाशोः
कर्षन्ती कर्ण-केलि-किशलयमवताद्वाल-देरम्ब-शुबडा ॥
SHV. 124
2. ख्यायि-वत्त-पञ्चाङ्गुल, etc. = PT. 6
3. कालिन्दी-चारु-वीची-निष्य हति मुदा पाहिता नैचिकेभि-
बांला कावम्बिनीति प्रमुदित-हृदयं वीजिता नीलकण्ठैः ।
उत्तसार्यं तमाल-स्तवक हति कृता मुरध-गोपाङ्गनाभिः
श्रेयो नः कष्टपयन्तां मधुमयन-तनु-स्वच्छ-कान्ति-प्रवाहाः ॥
PV. 33

Lakṣmī and the poet offers his prayers for protection.¹ In his verse on Kṛṣṇa the poet prays to him for unflinching devotion alone; nothing else matters to him.²

We have only four verses of Akbariya-Kālidāsa on nature which has a permanent bearing on the sentiment of Love. These verses might as well be termed Love-verses. Unfortunately, we have only one more Love-verse of the author—a verse on a separated lady-love. Out of the four verses on nature, two are devoted to the description of summer-wind. In one the summer-winds are stated to be the elephants of king Madana who are rushing on after roaming about on the outskirts of the golden mountains in the form of the breasts of the Ladies of Karṇāṭa, jumping in the Pampā Lake, scattering the pollens of the Malli flowers—and followed by swarms of bees throughout.³ The pleasant

1. घमिमल्लुषीः किमास्ये किमु वदन-रुचिः कण्ट-सीमासु कण्ट-
ज्वालाया वल्लोज-युग्मे किमु कुच-कलशौ-कान्तयो मध्यदेशे ।
द्रागित्यादि-कमेयोल्लसित-जलनिधेरिन्दिरायाः स्वरूपैः
पान्तु प्रेम-प्रणाली-विलुलित-गतयः कंटभारेः कटाक्षाः ॥

PV, 34

2. घन-च्छिद्य-चञ्चल-कुच-प्रस्थि-नद-
स्फुरत्-केकि-पिच्छे लसन्सार-गुच्छे ।
मुखेन्दु-भ्रमद्गुह्यी-दृक्-चर्करि
यशोदा-किशोरि मनो मे रमेत ॥

PV. 35

3. कृत्वा कार्याट-कान्ता-कुच-कनक-गिरि-ग्रान्त-सञ्चार-लीलां
कम्पयामासाद्य पम्या-पयसि वन-भुवि क्षिप्त-मल्ली-रजस्काः ।
प्राकपेन्तः परस्ताभिगडमिव कल-ज्वान-पुष्पन्धवार्ली
घावन्त्येते मदान्धा मदन-नरपतेः सिन्धुरा गन्धवाहाः ॥

PV. 620=SSS. 330

summer-winds towards the end of the day joyously passing through the Campaka forest and accumulating honey drops and consequently, slowing down its gait, are sufficiently capable of relieving people of all fatigue.¹

The verse on Malaya-breeze attributes the nature of a boy to it and all the adjectives are so used that they may be interpreted with reference to the Malaya-wind as well as a boy. The poet really describes the advent of the spring and chooses this happy metaphor for the purpose.²

1. चलमान-वम्पक-वनान्तरोल्लसन्मकरन्द-विन्दु-भर-मन्द-चक्रमाः ।
अहरन्त तापमहरन्त-सम्भवाः पवनाः पृथीखन-गन्ध-वन्धवाः ॥

PV. 329

2. भृङ्गाली-कण्टमाला-स्फुटित-कमलिनी-धूलिभिर्धूसराङ्गाः ।
स्पन्दन्तञ्जन्त्रकन्या-लघुतर-लहरी-शीकरासार-लालाः ।
अङ्गादङ्गं वजन्तो विकसित-विलसत्-केतकी-मल्लिकानां
मोदन्ते मन्दमन्दं मलय-गिरि-दरीगर्भतो वात-पोताः ॥

PV. 609

Boys	Winds
a. कण्टमाला :—wearing garlands of tigers' nails, etc.	a. Wearing garlands in the form of bees
b. धूलिभिर्धूसराङ्गाः :—covered with dust	b. Full of the pollens of lotuses
c. शीकरासार-लालाः :—emitting saliva	c. Scattering tiny particles of water, etc.
d. अङ्गादङ्गं वजन्तः :—passing from one lap to the other	d. Passing through various sorts of flowers

In the verse devoted to moon-rise, the poet says that the evening is the time for the god of Love to proceed for the conquest of the world and accordingly, the ceremonial for the purpose is to be observed; a copper-plate, therefore, floats on the sea in the form of the setting sun and the East, too, bears on her head a pitcher in the form of the moon.¹

The pursuit of a horse is beautifully described by the poet. It stretches forth its head as it intends to measure the earth and its feet are raised up as it considers the sky as nothing but a stage to dance on.²

The poet has left us to the legacy of only one Anyā-padeśa or Anyokti. It is on the lotus. There is no

1. मदन-विजय-यात्रा-मङ्गलं योतयन्ती
विद्यति जलधि-मध्ये ताम्रपात्रीव भातुः ।
इयमपि पुरुषुत-प्रेयसी मूर्ध्नि संस्थं
कलशमिव उर्ध्वांशुं साधुमुल्लासतीति ॥

PV. 580

v. r. in SSS, 205a. मदन-विजय-यात्रा-कास्त-विशेषनाय ।

Floating copper-plates and holding pitchers on the head are parts of the auspicious rites observed as Yātrā-maṅgala.

2. इयती जगती कियसी भविता
नमिताननमिति याति हृदयः ।
विमदङ्गन-रिङ्गन-रङ्ग-विधौ
परिनिर्तिस्तुमुत्क्रमतीव नभः ॥

PV, 126=SS, 124.

flower that can outdo the lotus by rivetting the attention of the bees even for a while.¹

Akbarīya-Kālidāsa is indeed a great Sanskrit poet. His verses are inspiring and really enjoyable. Almost every verse has some figure of speech or other in it, such as the metaphor including the Mālārūpaka, Utprekṣā, Atīśayokti, śleṣa, and so on. Nowhere in his composition, is there any looseness. The style of Akbarīya-Kālidāsa reminds one of the excellent styles of his illustrious predecessor whose name he shares—though at a much later period. One is apt to think that his name Akbarīya-Kālidāsa is really a pen-name so designed as to please both Akbar as well as to suit his own capacity as a supposed rival of the best poet of Hindu India.

1. हे मल्लि हे माललि हे लवज्जि
न तादृशी कापि भवादृशीनाम् ।
तर्ह्यं समाधाय मधु-वर्तं या
विस्मारयत्यम्बुजिनी-वियोगम् ॥

PV. 732.

The Rasika-jivana records हस्ताम्बोल्ल-पत्तने, etc. as a verse of Akbarīya-Kālidāsa. But see KVS, p. 34, हेमाम्बोल्ल-पत्तने, etc. ascribed to Kālidāsa in two MSS. of the ŚP.

JAGANNĀTHA PAṆḌITARĀJA

Court-poet of Shah Jahan (1628-1658) and great favourite of Dara Shikoh (d. 1659).

Personal history

Jagannātha was the son of Perubhaṭṭa¹ or Perama-bhaṭṭa² and Lakṣmi of the village Mungundu in the Godāvarī district. He was a Tailāṅga brahmin³ of the Veginada community.⁴

He was very fortunate in his training as a student, his father himself being the teacher. His father in his turn was the disciple of Jñānendra Bhikṣu in Vedānta, of Mahendra in Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, of Khaṇḍadeva

1. Rāsa-Gaṅgādhara, I. 3:—

पाषाणादपि वीर्यं त्यन्दते यस्य लीलया ।

तं वन्दे परमहात्म्यं लक्ष्मीकान्तं महाशुभम् ॥

In commenting upon Lakṣmi, Nāgeśa says, "लक्ष्मीति तत्-पत्नी-नाम ।"

2. Concluding verse (52) of the Prāṇābharaṇa (No. 53 is an interpolation):—

तेलङ्गान्वय-मञ्जुलालय-महालक्ष्मी-दया-लालितः

श्रीमत्-प्रेरमभट्ट-सुनुरनिशं विहङ्गलाटन्तपः ।

सन्तुष्टः कमताक्षिरस्य कवितामाकार्यं तद्वर्णनं

श्रीमत्-पण्डितराज-पण्डित-जगन्नाथो व्यधासीद्विदम् ॥

3. Op. cit.

4. See colophon to the Bhāmīnī-vilāsa.

in Pūrva-mīmāṃsā and Śeṣavireśvara in the Mahābhāṣya.¹ Śeṣavireśvara taught Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja as well.

It is said that Jagannātha started a school at Jaipur. He as well as other Paṇḍitas of Jaipur were once challenged by a Kāzī to an open debate in matters concerning Islam. It was only Jagannātha who took up the challenge, studied the religious literature of the Moslems as much and as quickly as he could within the fixed date and defeated the Kāzī. This creditable performance had such a telling effect upon the ruler of Delhi that he at once invited Jagannātha to his court. Jagannātha accepted the same and a fresh chapter in his life's history began.

There is a tradition that he fell violently in love with a Muslim girl called Lavaṅgi whom he married. Probably, he was unmarried when he came to the court of the ruler of Delhi.² That he was much enamoured

1. Rasa-Gaṅgādhara, 1. 2 :—

श्रीमज्ज्ञानमिहोरधिगत-सकल-महा-विद्या-प्रपञ्चः

कायादीरक्षपादीरपि गहनगिरो यो महेन्द्रादेवेदीत् ।

देवादेवाध्यगीष्ट स्मरहर-नगरे शासनं जैमिनीयं

शेषाङ्ग-प्राप्त-शेषामल-भयितिरभूत् सर्व-विद्याधरो यः ॥

2. Cp. शीतार्ता इव सङ्कुचन्ति दिवसा नैवाम्बरं शर्वरी
शीघ्रं मुञ्चन्ति किं च हुतमुक्-कोशं गतो भास्वरः ।
त्वं चानङ्ग-हुताश-भाजि हृदये सीमन्तिनीनां गतो
नास्माकं वसनं न वा युवतयः कुत्र व्रजामो वयम् ॥

of this Muslim girl is evidenced by several verses attributed to him.³

Probably Jagannātha had a son by Lavaṅgi whose loss he mourns in one of the verses of the *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara*.⁴ Jagannātha, probably, first came to Delhi during the rule of Jehangir to whom he refers in a verse of the *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara*.⁵

Jagannātha himself states in the introductory part of his *Āsaf-vilāsa* that he got his title Paṇḍitarāja from emperor Shah Jehan. His work on *Āsaf-khān*, counsellor of Shah Jehan and brother of Nūrjāhān, manifestly shows his reverence for him and also for Rāya

1. यवनी-रमणी विपद्ः शमनी कमनीयतमा नवनीत-समा ।
उद्विक्कहि-वचोऽमृत-पूर्वामुखी स ह्यखी जगतीह यदङ्गता ॥
यवनी नवनीत-कोमलाङ्गी शयनीये यदि नीयते कथञ्चित् ।
अवनी-तलमेव साधु मन्ये न वनी माधवनी विनोद-देतुः ॥
न याचे गजालि न वा वाजिराजि न वितेपु चित्तं मदीयं कदाचित् ।
इयं हस्तनी मस्तक-न्यस्त-हस्ता लवङ्गी कुरङ्गीदृगङ्गीकरोतु ॥

2. अपहाय सकल-बान्धव-चिन्तामुद्रास्य गुह-कुल-प्रणयम् ।
हा तनय विनयशालिन् कथमिव पर-श्लोक-पक्षिकोऽयम् ॥

P. 42, 5th Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press ed.

3. श्यामं यशोपवीतं तव किमिति मयी-संगमात् कुत्र जातः
सोऽयं शीतानु-कन्या-पयसि कथमभूत्कलं कञ्जलातम् ।
व्याकुल्यन्मूर्खीन-क्षिति-रमणी-रिपु-होषिमृत-पद्मलाङ्गी-
लङ्का-क्षीयाभु-धारा-समुदित-सरितां सर्वतः संगमेन ॥ (P. 703).

The full name of Jehangir was Nuruddin Muhammad Jehangir.

Mukunda of Kashmir at whose instance he composed the same. The verse attributed to Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja declaring that only two Īśvaras or Lords, either the Lord of Delhi or of the Universe, are to be approached for help, the rest being simply worthless from the point of view of real patronage,¹ would, probably, refer to Shah Jahan during whose reign he passed the longest period of his life at the court of Delhi.

In some MSS. of his work Jagad-ābharāṇa, there is a reference to his enjoyment of the patronage of Dara Shikoh (see below: under the works of Jagannātha—Jagadābharāṇa). Moreover, Dara Shikoh was murdered in 1659, only one year after the imprisonment of his father Shah Jahan.

The tradition is that Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja left the court of Delhi in sheer disgust after the murder of Dara Shikoh and came to Benares where he was severely reprimanded by Appayya Dikṣita apparently for marrying a Muslim girl. This was, most probably, only retaliating for Jagannātha's severe criticism of his work Citra-mīmāṃsā in the Citra-mīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana. Jagannātha, however, took the insult so terribly to heart that he is said to have committed suicide along with his

1. दिल्लीचरो वा जगदीश्वरो वा मनोरथान् पूरयितुं समर्थः ।
अन्यैर्न पातैः परिदीयमानं शाकाय वा स्थाण्डवभाय वा स्यात् ॥

beloved Lavaṅgī in the holy water of the Ganges. There is a tradition that the Gaṅgā-Labaṇ of Jagannātha was composed for this purpose; as he stepped down and down, he recited one after another the 53 verses of this stotra after which he and Lavaṅgī were drowned.

But this incident must have taken place not immediately after his leaving the court of Delhi. He says in the Śānta-vilāsa, part IV of the Bhāminī-vilāsa, v. 32, that after leaving Delhi, he resided at Muttra.¹

The third canto of the Bhāminī-vilāsa, viz. the Karuṇa, apparently appears to have been composed after the demise of Jagannātha's partner in life. But really if the Karuṇa-vilāsa as a part of the Bhāminī-vilāsa were composed with the express intention of having ready illustrations for the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara as Nāgeśa says,² no personal loss need be taken into consideration with re-

1. शास्त्राद्याकृतितानि नित्य-विधयः सर्वेऽपि सम्भाविता
 दिङ्हीवल्लभ-यासि-सङ्ख्य-सङ्गे नीतं नवीनं वयः ।
 सम्प्रत्युज्जित-वासनं मधुपुरी-मध्ये हरिः सेव्यते
 सर्वं पवित्रतराज-राजि-तिलकेनाकारि लोकाधिकम् ॥
2. Jagannātha says in the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara, v. 6 : =
 निर्माय नूतनमुदाहरणानुरूपं
 काव्यं मयाऽत्र निहितं न परस्य किञ्चित् ।
 किं सेव्यते ह्यमनसां मनसाऽपि गन्धः
 कस्तूरिका-जनन-शक्ति-भृता मृगेय ॥
 Nāgeśa says, "काव्यं भामिनीविलासाख्यम्" ।

gard to the composition of the verses. Moreover, as there is no evidence whatsoever that Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja married a second time, the above supposition distinctly goes against the tradition that he and Lavaṅgi died together in the holy waters of the Ganges.

Date.

The Rasa-Gaṅgādhara contains a verse¹ which refers to Nurdin. Nurdin is really the forename of Nurdin Mahammad Jahangir, father of Shah Jahan. Most probably our poet came to the court of Delhi when Jahangir was the ruler. Internal evidence shows that Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja enjoyed the full confidence and liberal patronage of Shah Jahan.² If 'Jagat' of the work

1. श्यामं यज्ञोपवीतं, etc., p. 703, NSP. 5th ed.

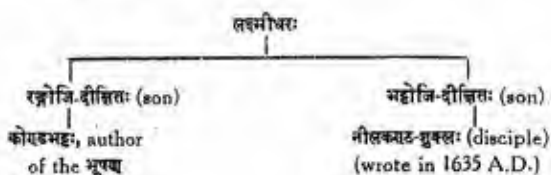
2. अथ सकल-लोक-विस्तार-विस्तारित-महोपकार-परम्पराधीन-मानसेन, प्रतिदिनमुखदनवद्य-गद्य-पद्याद्यनेक-विधाविद्योतितान्तःकरण-कविभिरुपास्यमानेन, कृत-युगीकृत-कलि-कालेन, कुमति-नृण-जाल-समाच्छादित-वेद-वन-मार्ग-विलोकनाय समुदीपित-द्युतकं-दहन-ज्वाला-जालेन, मूर्तिमतेव नञ्वावासफ-खान-मनःप्रसादेन, द्विज-कुल-सेवा-देवाकि-धारुमनः-कायेन, माधुर-कुल-समुद्रेणुना रायमुकुन्देनादि-ष्टेन, सार्वभौम-श्रीराजजहाँ-प्रसादाधिगत-पण्डितराज-पद्मी-विराजितेन, तैलङ्ग-कुलावतसेन, पण्डित-जगन्नाथेनासफ-विलासाख्येयमाख्यायिका निरमोयत ।

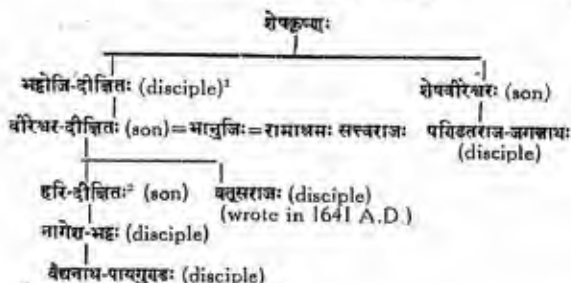
Introductory part of the Āsaf-vilāsa.

Again, the word 'दिङ्गी-वस्तु' in v. 32 of the Śānta-vilāsa, Part IV of the Bhāminī-vilāsa, most probably, refers to Shah Jahan.

Jagadābharaṇa may be taken to refer to Dara Shikoh as some MSS. show, Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja may be supposed to have continued to enjoy the patronage of the Mughal Raj till the murder of the eldest son of Shah Jahan. Therefore, our poet appears to have enjoyed the patronage of two Mughal emperors and one Mughal prince. It is only likely that Jagannātha was born in the second half of the sixteenth century and continued to contribute to Sanskrit literature till the murder of the unfortunate Mughal prince Dara Shikoh (1659 A.D.) as a court-poet of Delhi. Subsequently to his leaving the Royal court he resided at Muttra and compiled the Bhāminī-vilāsa and necessarily the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara, if the word 'kāvyā' in v. 6 of this work really refers to the Bhāminī-vilāsa as Nāgeśa says it does.

Other evidences also help the determination of the date of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja. Our poet is connected with the celebrated School of Grammarians headed by Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita. His exact relationship is best seen in the following table:—





[For the date of Vaidyanātha,
See Introduction to my edition of
Kāla-Mādhava-Lakṣmī, Vol. I]

Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa flourished towards the end of the 17th century and therefore the date assigned by us to Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja who flourished two generations earlier must be about 50 years earlier still.

In the Kula-prabandha composed in the seventeenth century, which is now included in the Vamśa-vithi of the Sāhitya-vaibhava of Bhaṭṭa Mathurānātha Śāstrin (Bhaṭṭa Garden, Residency Road, Jaipur, Rajputana), it is stated that one Nārāyaṇa who was a student of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja succumbed to death at an early life in the seventeenth century.³ This also helps the exact

1. Bhaṭṭoji's disciple Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla composed a work in 1635 A.D.

2. There is a tradition that Hari-Dīkṣita challenged Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja in debate in which our poet first defeated his opponent but later on was himself defeated.

3. लब्धा विद्या निखिलाः पद्मिदतराजजगन्नाथाय ।

नारायणस्तु देवादत्पापुः स्वःपुरीमगमत् ॥

determination of the date of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja irrespective of the above evidences.

Again, the Subhāṣita-hārāvalī of Hari Kavi preserves a verse of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja in which he praises one Gaṅgādhara.¹ Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa refers to one Gaṅgādhara as his guru in his commentary on the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara.² It may be that these two Gaṅgādharas were identical in which case Gaṅgādhara must have taught Nāgeśa in his old age.

It may further be added that the commentary of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa on Rasa-Gaṅgādhara was composed by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Jagannātha himself severely criticised Appayya Dikṣita as a slavish imitator of earlier rhetoricians. Appayya was probably alive up till the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century and was, in any case, a senior contemporary of Jagannātha. Haribhāskara, whose Vṛtta-ratnākara-ṭīkā³ was composed in 1676 A.D. includes in his Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī two verses of Jagannātha. The Padyāmṛta-

1. वितग्धा-देव्याधरतिवित्त-वाक्यैरपि नृनि.

न जेयोऽसौ विद्वज्जन-सदसि गंगाधर-बुधः ।

The Lakṣmī-laharī of Jagannātha seems to refer to the same poet by means of pun on गङ्गाधर in v. 3—"धरास्तं गायन्ति स्फुरित-तनु गंगाधर-मुखाः ।"

2. नरवा गङ्गाधरं भर्तृ-प्रकाशं तनुते गुरुम् ; the opening line of the commentary.

3. Bhandarkar, Reports. 1877-91, p. lxij and 1883-84, p. 60.

taraṅgiṇī is dated at 1674 A.D.¹ and was composed only fifteen years after the murder of Dara Shikoh.

From the above evidences we may come to the conclusion that the period of Jagannātha's literary activities continued from the beginning of the seventeenth century up to about 1660 A.D.

Works of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja.

A survey of the writings of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja at once shows that he wrote on various subjects—(1) Stotras such as those of Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Gaṅgā and Yamunā; (2) Panegyrics of Prāṇanārāyaṇa of Kāmarūpa, Jagat-siṃha or Dara Shikoh and Āsaf; (3) Nature, e.g. the sun-rise (see Sudhā-laharī below); (4) Sanskrit Grammar such as Prauḍha-manoramā-kuca-mardini; (5) Sanskrit rhetorical literature, e.g. the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara, a commentary on the Kāvya-prakāśa and Citra-mimāṃsā-khaṇḍana. Again, the Bhāminī-vilāsa which was composed for the purpose of having ready illustrations for the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara is a monumental work. It contains, among many lyrical stanzas, a large number of Anyoktis which have been amply quoted by the Koṣa-kāras in their anthologies.

Some accounts of the extant works of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja are given below.

1. See p. 72 of my edition of the Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī.

1. *Amyta-lahari*.

This hymn of the Yamunā¹ in only eleven verses is meant for daily recitation during the bath.² Here the poet earnestly desires to pass his days on the banks of the Yamunā as a mendicant (v. 3) and prays to Kṛṣṇa for salvation.

2. *Āsaf-vilāsa*.

This work is devoted to the praise of Nawab Āsaf Khan, brother of Nur Jahan and minister of Shah Jahan. It is being published for the first time as an Appendix to this work.³ As Āsaf Khan died in 1641 A.D. as is recorded in the chronogram *Zibe afsos Āsaf Khan*, this work must have been composed before that date; and after the accession of Shah Jahan to the throne in 1628 A.D., as he is described as "Sērvabhauma" in the work itself.

The work deals with Shah Jahan's visit to Kashmir and Āsaf Khan's whole-hearted endeavour to promote royal happiness. No historical account about Shah Jahan or Āsaf Khan is found in it.

1. Edited by Pandit Durgaprasād and Kashinath Pandurang Parab. *Kāvyā-mālā*, Part I, pp. 99-101. Bombay, 1886.

Verse no. 11: अयं पवित्रराजेन श्रीजगन्नाथ-शर्मणा ।

स्तवः कलिन्दुन्दिन्या निर्मलो निरमीयत ॥

2. एवं स्नान-विधौ पठन्ति खलु ये नित्यं गृहीत-व्रता-

स्तानामन्वित-संख्य-जन्म-जनितं पापं क्षयादुज्झति ॥ V. 10.

3. The MS. used for our edition belongs to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute; see P.K. Gode's Catalogues of Sansk. MSS., Kāvya volume.

3. *Bhāminī-vilāsa*, also called *Paṇḍitarāja-śataka*.¹

The work consists of four vilāsas, viz. Prastāvika-vilāsa, Śṛṅgāra-vilāsa, Karuṇa-vilāsa and Śānta-vilāsa. Whereas in some editions the total number of verses found are 129, 183, 19 and 45 in the four vilāsas respectively, in others, again, there are 101, 102, 19 and 32 or 33 verses. This great discrepancy in the number of verses in a comparatively recent book is, no doubt, puzzling. It shows, however, that the work enjoys great popularity. In all, 121 verses are left out in several editions. Out of these about 100 are found in the *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara*; and therefore, there is no doubt that these 100 verses were composed by Jagannātha himself though it may be doubted whether the author himself selected them for inclusion in his *Bhāminī-vilāsa*. The remaining 21 verses also bear the distinctive stamp of Jagannātha's poetic excellence and are, most probably, his own.

Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa in his commentary on the *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara* says that the *Bhāminī-vilāsa* was composed

1. Greek ed. in 1845. Many Indian editions without commentaries since 1870. Ed. with commentary "bhūṣaṇa of Mahādeva in the *Grantha-ratna-mālā*, 1890; with the commentary of Maṇirāma by Victor Henry, Paris, 1885; with the "vyākhyā by Yādunātha Tārkacārya, Calcutta, Saṃskṛta Press, 1862 and with *Kāvya-marma-prakāśa* by Lakṣmaṇa Rāmacandra Vaidya, Bombay, Bhārati Press, 1887.

earlier than the *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara* with the object of having ready illustrations for his *Magnum opus*.¹

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja says that he compiled the *Bhāminī-vilāsa* as a selection of his verses in order that nobody else could claim them as his own.² But a comparative study of his *Bhāminī-vilāsa* with the *Bhāva-śataka*³ of Rudra Nyāyapañcānana or the *Anyokti-muktālatā*⁴ of Śambhu Mahākavi reveals that Jagannātha was indebted to both of them for his thought and imagery of a good many verses. Śambhu Mahākavi was the court-poet of king Harṣa of Kashmir (1088-1100 A.D.) and flourished towards the close of the twelfth century A.D. And Rudra Nyāyapañcānana, son of Kāśinātha Vidyānivāsa of Bengal and brother of Viśvanātha Pañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya, flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century and continued his literary

1. See Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa's commentary on the sixth Introductory verse of the *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara*.

2. At the end of the last part of the *Bhāminī-vilāsa*, the poet says:—

दुष्टं चा जार-जन्मानो हरिष्यन्तीति वद्वया ।

मदीय-पद्य-रत्नानां मञ्जुर्वैवा कृता मया ॥

3. Cp. *Bhāminī-vilāsa*, I. 1 with *Bhāva-vilāsa*, 140; *Bhāminī-vilāsa* 9 with *Bhāva-vilāsa* 41 and 37 of the former with 26 of the latter, etc.

4. Cp. *Bhāminī-vilāsa*, I. 2 with *Anyokti-muktā-latā*, 14; *Bhāminī-vilāsa*, I. 19 with AM. 72; BV. 20 with AM. 26; BV. 47 with AM. 12 and so on.

activities during the first half of the seventeenth century.¹ His Bhāva-śataka was composed at the instance of Bhāvasiṃha, son of Mānasiṃha.²

The Prastāvika-vilāsa is really a collection of Anyoktis. This vilāsa is also found printed under the title Anyokty-ullāsa with Malayalam metrical version by M. N. Rāmakṛṣṇa Śāstrin.³

The *Anyoktis* here are all grand in conception as well as expression. The Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇi which was composed a few years after the death of our poet Jagannātha quotes a few of these Anyoktis, viz. verses 1, 5, 7 and 14 of the Prastāvika-vilāsa.⁴ The first one dwells upon the majesty of the great who justly terrify the rivals, take pity for those who are meek and humble and do not cause any harm to the lowliest. In verse no. 5 the poet establishes that a respectable person must not be dishonoured. In the next verse the poet resorts to the figure of speech *Śleṣa* for bringing out the fact that a poor man must not feel discontented or be despaired; love and appreciation of others' merits are sure

1. See Introduction to my edition of the Bhramara-dūta.

2. Ed. in the Kāvya-mālā.

3. Reprinted from the Kavana-kaumudī. [Kottakal], 1916.

4. Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī, verses 200, 213, 252 and 194 respectively.

to be his sustaining forces. In verse no. 34, the proverb "Carrying coal to Newcastle" has been happily substantiated with an illustration.

4. *Citra-mimāṃsā-khaṇḍana*.¹

Our poet expressly states that the defects of the *Citra-mimāṃsā* of Appayya Dikṣita thoroughly dealt with in the *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara* are collected in an abbreviated form in this work.² Appayya Dikṣita, another outstandingly great Sanskrit scholar of the South, was a sworn enemy of our poet and was responsible for his unnatural death. Unfortunately the *Citra-mimāṃsā* as well as the *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara* are both incomplete; no definite reasons for which can be assigned at the present state of our knowledge.

1. Both the *Citra-mimāṃsā* and the *Citra-mimāṃsā-khaṇḍana* have been edited in the *Kāvya-mālā*, Bombay, Nirṇaya-sāgar Press.

2. सूक्ष्मं विभाव्य मयका समुदीरिताना-
मप्यध्य-दीक्षित-कृताविह दूषयानाम् ।
निर्मतसरो यदि समुद्धरणं विदध्या-
दस्याहमुज्ज्वलमतेवरणौ ब्रह्मि ॥
रस-गङ्गाधरे चित्र-मीमांसाया मयोदिताः ।
ये दोषास्तेऽत्र संक्षिप्य कथ्यन्ते विदुषां मुदे ॥

The Ms. from which the *Citra-mimāṃsā-khaṇḍana* was edited in the *Kāvya-mālā* is dated 1652 A.D. and was, probably, written during the life-time of the author himself.

5. *Gāṅgā-laharī*,¹ also called *Piyuṣa-laharī*² and *Gāṅgāmṛta-laharī*.

Several editors call Sadāśiva's commentary on the *Gāṅgā-laharī*, as *Piyuṣa-laharī*. The India Office Library possesses 45 editions of this work, but none is a critical one. This important work badly needs a critical edition. The *Gāṅgā-laharī* of Jagannātha is a very sincere outburst of the feelings of a real devotee in 52 stanzas. The poet here remarks with child-like simplicity that he cares little for other goddess as he feels sure of her affection for him; if she now becomes careless about him, who else would come to his rescue, who else would care to console him?³ Her holy water must put an end to his cycle of births.⁴

1. Printed in the *Bṛhat-stotra-muktā-hāra*, part II, stotra no. 395, pp. 401-409; Bombay, Gujrati Printing Press, 1916.

2. इमां पीयूषलहरीं जगन्नाथेन निर्मिताम् ।
यः पठेत्तस्य सर्वत्र जायन्ते जय-सम्पदः ॥ last verse.
3. तवाऽऽलम्बादम्ब स्फुरदलघु-गर्वेण सहस्रं
मया सर्वेऽवज्ञा-स्तरणिमथ नीताः छरगणाः ॥
इदानीमौवास्य यदि भजसि भागीरथि तदा
निराधारो हा रोदिमि कथय केषामिह पुरः ॥६॥
4. मख्खीला-लोललहरी-लुलिताम्भोज-पटल-
स्खलनुपांशु-मातच्छुरणविसरतकौमुद-रुचि ।
छरस्यो-वज्जोज-नरदगद-जम्बाल-जटिलं
जलं ते जङ्गलं मम जनन-जालं जरयतु ॥२१॥

Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva may safely cease to function if only the Ganges is alert about the welfare of the world.¹ The lovely big eyes or the ears are simply useless if they do not see her or hear the sweet sound of her sportive waves.² Many people resort to many austerities, but the poet knows only one way out for avoiding all troubles.³

6. Jagad-ābharāṇa.

From the introduction of Durgāprasāda to the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara, it is known that he came across a MS. of the Jagadābharāṇa which had the readings Dara or some epithets such as दिल्लीधरावल्लभ referring to him instead of प्राशनारायण. So it is certain that a MS. of the poet's प्रासाभरण, in that form was found devoted to the praise

1. विघर्षतां निःशङ्कं निरवधिं समाधिं विघिर्हो
सुखं शेषे शेषतां हरिविरतं नृत्यतु हरः ।
कृतैः प्रायश्चित्तैरलमथ तपोदान-यजनैः
सवित्री कामानां यदि जगति जायति भवती ॥२४॥
2. विशालाभ्यामाभ्यां किमिह नयनाभ्यां खलु फलं
न याभ्यामालीढा परम-रमणीया तव तनुः ।
अथ हि न्यङ्कारो जननि मनुजस्य श्रवणयो-
र्ययोनान्तयोक्तस्तथ सहिरिलीला-कलकलः ॥३२॥
3. यजन्त्येके देवान् कठिनतर-सेवांस्तदपरे
वितान-व्यास्तका यम-नियम-रक्ताः कतिपये ।
अहं तु त्वन्नाम-स्मरण-पुतकामस्त्रिपथगे
जगज्जालं जाने जननि तुष्ट-जालेन सहशम् ॥४४॥

of Dara Shikoh. The late Mr. S. M. Paranjape, however, says in his edition of the Bhāmīnī-vilāsa that he came across a MS. of the Jagadābharṇa which had the concluding verse and the colophon as follows:—

तैलङ्गान्वय-मङ्गलालय-महालक्ष्मी-दया-लालितः

श्रीमत्-पेरम-भट्ट-सुनुरनिर्घं विद्वल्ललाटन्तपः ।

श्रीरायाकलिकर्णनन्दन-जगत्सिंह-प्रभोर्वर्णनं

श्रीमत्-परिडतराय-सत्कवि-जगन्नाथो ज्यतानीदिदम् ॥

इति महामहोपाध्याय-पद-वाक्य-प्रमाण-पारावारीख-तैलङ्ग-कुलावतंस-श्रीपेरम-भट्टसुरेस्तनयेन विनिर्मितं जगदाभरणारूपं जगत्सिंह-वर्णनम् ॥

Jagatsimha, son of Karṇasimha, was the Rājā of Udaipur and reigned from 1628-1654 A.D. Chronologically, there is no difficulty in the poet's composing the work in praise of Dara Shikoh or Jagatsimha; and as it was he, who praised दिल्लीश्वर as जगदीश्वर,¹ one cannot be sure to whose praise the work was really devoted by the poet himself.

7. *Karuṇā-laharī*, also called *Viṣṇu-laharī*.

In some MSS. the name *Karuṇā-laharī* is replaced by *Viṣṇu-laharī*.² It is a hymn of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa in 60

1. दिल्लीश्वरो वा जगदीश्वरो वा मनोरथान् पूरयितुं समर्थः ।

अन्यैर्नृपालैः परिदीयमानं शाकाय वा स्वाल्लवशाय वा स्यात् ॥

2. Ed. in *Kāvya-mālā*, part II by Pandit Durgaprasad and Kasinath Pānduraṅga Parab. pp. 55-61. See fn. 2, p. 55, *Kāvya-mālā* 2.

verses and is outstandingly lyrical throughout. The poet, as is clear from his other writings as well, was most religiously minded and in this hymn he declares that he cares for nothing else than the Lord.¹ A child falling into a pit is saved even by a passerby; the poet fallen into the sea must be saved by the father, the Lord.² The mind of the poet, a cakora in quest of moon-beams, is terribly scorched by the wild fire of the forest of Universe; the face-moon of the Lord must now save it by the award of what it so badly needs.³

8. *Kāvya-prakāśa-tikā.*

No MS. of this work could be availed of. Stein notices one MS. in his Catalogue of Sans. MSS. belonging to Raghunath Temple Library in Kashmir and Jammu (60. 269. 1-2).

1. तद्विष्णुपुल्लाम्बुज-मध्य-निर्गलन्मरन्द-निःस्पन्द-नितान्त-सम्पदः ।
मनोमिलिन्दो मम मुक्त-बाणस्तत्त्वदन्यमीदृशान् तृणाय सन्धते ॥ verse 4.
2. अपि गतं-मुखे गतः शिशुः पश्चिक्तेनापि निवार्यते जवात् ।
जनकेन पतन् भवार्थये न निवार्यो भवता कथं विमो ॥ verse 26.
3. विशाल-विषयाटवी-वल्लय-लम्प-दावानल-
प्रसृत्तर-शिखावली-विकलितं मदीयं मनः ।
अमन्द-मिलदिन्दिरे निखिल-माधुरी-मन्दिरे
मुकुन्द-मुख-वन्दिरे चिरमिदं चकोरायताम् ॥ verse 59.

9. *Lakṣmi-laharī*.¹

The *Lakṣmi-laharī* consists of 41 verses in Śikharinī metre and is a hymn of the goddess Lakṣmī. The poet prays to her for removing all his sins and for her kindness to him. He considers it superfluous that in a hand that is matchless in fragrance as well as tenderness adored by all poets, a lotus should bloom again; it is from this that the well-known figure of speech Simile of the *kāvya*s originated.² The necklace of the goddess that represents the assemblage of all the beauties in the world and puts to an end all the troubles of the devotees should find out the means of the poet's salvation.³

10. *Manoramā-kuca-mardana*.⁴

[also called *Praudha-manoramā*°]

This work that has not as yet been published is

1. Published in the *Kāvya-mālā*, part II, pp. 104-111.

2. अलम्ब्य सौरभ्यं कविकुल-नमल्या रुचिरता
तथापि त्वज्जले निवसद्गविन्व' विकसितम् ।
कलापे काव्यानां प्रकृति-कमनीय-स्तुति-विधौ
गुणोत्कर्षोद्योगं प्रथितमपमानं समजनि ॥ verse 25.

3. समाहारः श्रीणां विरचितविहारो हरिरुणां
परीहारो भक्त-प्रभव-भव-सन्ताप-सरणोः ।
प्रहारः सर्वासामपि च विपदा विप्लवद्विते
समोद्धारोपायं तव सपदि हारो विमृशतु ॥ verse 27.

4 List of Mss. belonging to Pt. Radhakrishna of Lahore, 9: Classified Index to the Sans. MSS. in the Palace at Tanjore by Burnell, London, 1880, 40b; Lists of Sans. Mss. in Private Libraries of Southern India by Gustav Oppert, MSS. 4339 and 4499; etc.

devoted to a scathing criticism of Manoramā [Praudha-manoramā], Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita's commentary on his Siddhānta-kaumudī.

11. *Prāṇābharāṇa*.¹

The poet composed this panegyric in 53 verses for expressing his heart-felt delight on hearing the verses of Prāṇanārāyaṇa, king of Kāmarūpa.² He highly praises Prāṇanārāyaṇa for his vast learning, particularly in verses 16 and 50. There is a ṭippaṇa on this work composed by the poet himself for bringing out the rhetorical excellence of each verse. Every stanza is designed to be an excellent example of one or more rhetorical figures of speech. Grand indeed is the verse (no. 52) containing a pun on the word 'Vāmā'³ and the adjectives are so used that they may be interpreted both with reference to the enemies of the king as well as his wife. By means of a pun on the word 'Arjuna'⁴ the poet

1. Ed. in the Kāvya-māla, Part I, pp. 79-90.

2. See the last verse (no. 52). No. 53 is an interpolation. The name of the king is given in verse no. 5. His designation कामरूपेश्वर is given in verses 2, 15 and 22.

3. आबभ्रास्यलकाशिरस्यसितमां चोत्तं रसाकाङ्क्षया
लङ्काया वधतां तनोषि कुक्षे जङ्घा-सलाह-जतम् ।
प्रत्यङ्गं परिमर्द-निर्दयमहो चेतः समालम्ब्यते
वामानां विषये वृषेन्द्र भवतः प्रागल्भ्यमत्यद्भुतम् ॥ Verse 7.

4. अपारे खलु संसारे विधिनेकोऽर्जुनः कृतः ।
कीदृशो निर्मलया भूप त्वया सर्वेऽर्जुनाः कृताः ॥ Verse 43.

charmingly describes the fame of the king extending all over the world.¹

The MS. of the *Prāṇābharaṇa* belonging to the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library (no. 3828) gives the name of the poet's father as Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa and has the reading 'Kamalādhīpasya' instead of 'Kamatādhīpasya' in verse 53. Again, at the end of this MS. there is a long prose passage which is not found in the printed edition.

12. *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara*.

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja was not only a great poet but also one of the best rhetoricians India has ever produced. The *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara* of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja is one of the best rhetorical works of India from every point of view, viz., clarity of expression, superb judgment, depth of insight, wide range of learning and so on. All the examples of the work are Jagannātha's own composition.

Unfortunately the work is available in an incomplete form, breaking off in the middle of the *Uttara alaṃkāra*. No definite reason for its incompleteness is known. His *Citra-mīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana* shows that it was composed after the *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara* and one would naturally think that Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja really completed the work,

1. गगने चन्द्रिकायन्ते हिमायन्ते हिमायन्ते ।

पृथिव्यां सागरायन्ते भूपाल तव कीर्तयः ॥ Verse 48.

though the remaining portion of it is not available to-day even in MS. form. Or, it may be that in his anxiety to oppose vehemently his greatest rival Appayya Dikṣita, he really undertook the work °khaṇḍana even before the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara was completed. The tradition that the learned scholar courted death along with his wife Lavaṅgī owing to the deliberate insult meted out by Appayya Dikṣita probably furnishes a clue as to why both the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara and Citra-mimāṃsā-khaṇḍana are found incomplete.

13. *Sudhā-laharī*.¹

The *Sudhā-laharī* presents a grand description of sunrise in 30 verses in the metre Sragdharā. The Sun rising in the East from the Udayagiri causes immense delight to all—particularly, to the lotus. It is the best healer of all diseases and inspirer to all devotees. Its rays, shooting through trees and falling on the earth, appear to young parrots like sticks and they, therefore, try to put their legs on them; the dew-drops on leaves, mixed with them, resemble the pomegranate-seeds in order to eat which they open their beaks.² The Sun is the son of

1. Ed. in the *Kāvya-mālā*, Part 1, pp. 16-22.

2. निर्मिष इमास्त्वाणामतिथनमुदरं येषु गोत्रां गतेषु

द्राविष्ठ-स्वर्यादयश्च-भ्रमभृतमनसः संनिधित्सन्ति पादान् ।

यैः संनिधौ दलपत्र-प्रचल-हिमकण्यो दाविमी-बीजशुद्धया

यन्मु-पाञ्चल्यमञ्जलि च शुक्रशिखचस्तेऽंशवः पान्दु भागोः ॥५॥

Indra by the Eastern horizon as it were and therefore, it appears as though the birth-rites are performed in the morning.¹ The drops of water offered as oblation to the Sun appear like so many jewels in course of their fall to the ground.² The Sun is ever merciful to all men inasmuch as it seeks the aid of the Fire-god for their protection during its absence at night.³

14. *Yamunā-varṇana*, a prose work.

No complete MS. of it is as yet traced. Only two quotations from it are preserved for us in the *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara*.⁴

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja flourished at a time when even the vernacular poets were excessively fond of introducing alliteration in composition. Several Hindi verses of Vihārīn and Sanskrit verses of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja are very much alike in style as well as thought. There are traces of the influence of his age upon Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja; e.g. it was customary among aristo-

1. See v. 8, कीलालैः कुङ्कुमानैः, etc.

2. See v. 13, अन्तर्नीरं यदानीं etc.

3. निर्वान्यन्तःसमुद्रं सकलमपि दृष्ट्वा भारमाधाय वहा-

वहायाह्वामधीयः स भवतु भवतां भूयसे महत्प्रसाय ॥२३॥

4. *Nirṇaya-Sāgara* ed., p. 22, "तनय-भेनाक-गोषेणः सन्वीकृत-जलधि-जटार-प्रविष्ट-हिमगिरि-मुजायमानामा भगवत्या भागीरथ्याः सखी"; p. 159, "रवि-कुल-प्रीतिमावहन्ती नर-विकुल-प्रीतिमावहति । अवारित-प्रवाहा सवारित-प्रवाहा ।"

crats during Mughal rule to maintain a couple of pigeons. There is a verse in the *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara* which refers to a pair of these love-birds.¹

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja is undoubtedly one of the greatest rhetoricians in Sanskrit, if not the very greatest. If he could have completed the *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara*, he would have undoubtedly eclipsed the glory of all the rhetoricians of India. It is only unfortunate that such an outstanding personality should have faced such a sad end of life. He was a great poet as well as a good prose-writer. It may be taken for granted that his *Kāvya-prakāśa-tīkā* bears the same stamp of rhetorical perfection as the *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara* does. It is a great pity that such an important work should still be known in name only. We implore to the authorities of the Raghunath Temple Library, Kashmir and Jammu, to undertake the publication of this work at the earliest opportunity. It may also be presumed that the work of our Paṇḍitarāja

1. Cp. e.g.

नीलाब्जलेन संवृतमाननमाभाति हरिश्चलवनायाः ।

प्रतिबिम्बित इव यमुना-भाभीर-नीरान्तरेखाङ्कः ॥ P. 258 of R.G.

with Vihārī's verse : —

दिव्यो हृषीको मुह ससै नीले आचलधीर ।

मनो कलानिधि भलमल्ले कालिन्दीके नीर ॥

निरुध्य यान्तीं तरसा कपोतीं कूजतकपोतस्य पुरो ददाते ।

मयि स्मितार्द्रं वदनारविन्दं सा मन्दमन्दं नमवांभूत् ॥

P. 97 of R.G.

on Sanskrit Grammar, the *Monoramā-kucā-mardana*, would be also a work of outstanding merit. Trained in the same school as that of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita and probably, his contemporary too—in any case, a direct disciple of Vireśvara, son of Seśakṛṣṇa, Bhaṭṭoji's guru—Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja was eminently fitted for the work. Jagannātha's panegyrics of the then kings of India and hymns on various deities are also quite up to the standard of the author of the *Rasa-Gaṅgādhara*.

SEVERAL OTHER SANSKRIT POETS PATRONISED BY MUSLIM RULERS

Amṛtadatta was the court-poet of Shahabuddin who severely threatened Miraśāha planning for the invasion of Kashmir.¹ Shahabuddin must have flourished in or before the twelfth century when Śrīdharadāsa, author of the Sadukti-karṇāmṛta, adorned the court of Lakṣmaṇasena as is evident from the fact that one of the verses of Amṛtadatta is quoted in the Sad-ukti-karṇāmṛta.² This verse and several other verses³ quoted

1. Verses 608 and 609 of the Subhāsitāvalī :—

कारमीरागन्तुकामस्य मीरयाहास्य-भूपतेः ।
शाहाबुद्दीन-भूमीन्द्रः प्राहिब्योदिति खेयकम् ॥
किमेवमविशङ्कितः शिशु-कुरङ्ग लोल-कर्म
परिक्रमितुमीहसे विरम नव शून्यं वनम् ।
स्थितोऽत्र गजयूथ-नाथ-मयनोच्छलोच्छोच्चित-
च्छटा-पटल-भास्वरोत्कट-सटा-भरः केसरी ॥ भा० अमृतदत्तस्य

2. II, 20, 3, p. 81, Lahore ed., उत्तरायण-कान्तानां, etc.

3. Verses of Amṛtadatta quoted in the SSV.

Subjects

No. 805 :	अत्यन्तशीतलतया सुभग०	[वृत्तान्वयोक्तिः]
„ 2455 :	अपूर्वैष धनुर्विद्या	[वाटुक्तिः]
„ 429 :	अमरैरमृतं न पीतं	[दुर्जन-निन्दा]
„ 2456 :	अमी पान-करम्भाभाः	[वाटुक्तिः]

in the Subhāṣitāvalī are not found anywhere else. Two of his verses are found in the Subhāṣitāvalī as well as the Sūktimuktāvalī of Jalhaṇa.¹

No.	2454 :	आहते तव निःसाद्ये	Subjects
..	50 :	उद्धत-दैत्य०	[चाटूक्तिः]
..	949 :	एवं चेद्विचिना कृतः	[आशीर्षः]
..	72 :	कर-जालमपूर्व०	[मरुः]
..	148 :	कवीनां महती	[आशीर्षः]
..	609 :	किमेवमविशङ्कितः	[कवि-काव्य-प्रशंसा]
..	940 :	किं पान्थ निमग्न०	[सिद्धान्तोक्तिः]
..	2457 :	कीर्तिस्ते जात०	[मरुः]
..	2291 :	कृष्णः क्रीडितवान् गोभिः	[चाटूक्तिः]
..	156 :	जीवित इव कण्ठगते सूक्ते	[हास्यम्]
..	1030 :	त्रैलोक्योपकृति०	[कवि-काव्य-प्रशंसा]
..	2458 :	दुनोति स्वामघवतः	[विन्ध्यवासिनी]
..	989 :	देवी कं दुर्गतिहरा भगिनी	[चाटूक्तिः]
..	853 :	न पालयति मयीदां	[मैनाका]
..	796 :	फल-कुष्ठम-किसलयोज्ज्वल०	[समुद्रः]
..	31 :	मदमयमदमयदुरगं	[वृत्तः]
..	966 :	मृदु-सुभग-परिकरुणो	[आशीर्षः]
..	73 :	युष्माकमन्वर-मयैः	[कामदेवः]
..	2477 :	सकृपाद्यां द्विषां	[आशीर्षः]
..	718 :	समुद्रिरसि वाचः किं	[चाटूक्तिः]
..	2453 :	सरस्वती स्थिता वक्ते	[कोकिलान्तोक्तिः]
..	2574 :	सौभाग्यस्य समर्पणेन	[चाटूक्तिः]
..			["]

1. SSV. 1032, कोऽयं भ्रान्ति-प्रकारस्तव, etc.

Sūktimuktāvalī, p. 68, v. 6.

.. 1143, भक्ति-प्रह्व-विलोकन०, etc.

Sūktimuktāvalī, p. 27, v. 64.

This second verse has been quoted by Mammaṣa also in his Kāvya-prakāśa.

'Amṛtadatta is a good poet. Some of his verses are really enjoyable. Thus in censuring the wicked, he says that neither the nectar was drunk by the gods, nor the poison by Śiva but they persist still in the world in the honeyed speech and the heart of the wicked respectively.¹

Again censuring the desert, the poet says he censures it not because it cannot be of any service to anybody but because it deceives the thirsty people by deluding them through mirage.²

In his verse on the sentiment of Laughter, Lakṣmī is said to be fond of the dull-witted (go-buddhi) because her husband used to play with the cows (go-s). As a chaste lady, she is intensely devoted to those who have some semblance with the favourites of her husband.³ This refers to the traditional enmity between the two co-wives Lakṣmī, the goddess of Fortune and Sarasvatī,

1. अमरैरमृतं न पीतमम्भेर्न च हालाहलमुत्सर्वां हरेण ।
विधिना निहितं खलस्य वाचि द्वयमेतद्वह्निरेकमन्तरन्यत् ॥
भा० अमृतदत्तस्य ॥ SSV. 429.
2. एवं चेद्विधिना कृतोज्युपकृतौ कल्याणिदप्युत्तमः
कामं मोहकथास्ततस्तव मरो वाच्यं न धीरो भव ।
किञ्चिवारान्मृगत्प्यापोपजनयसम्मोमुखां वञ्चनां
प्रेम्णा कथसि तथ-मुद्धित-धियोऽप्यन्यानतः शोच्यते ॥ SSV. 949
3. कृष्णः क्रीडितवान् गोभिरिति गो-मुत्प-बुद्धिषु ।
पक्षपातवती सप्तमीरहो देवी पतिव्रता ॥ SSV. 2291.

the goddess of Learning. Lakṣmi is said to favour the dull-witted while scholars are destined to suffer from poverty. It is not improbable that the verse has a personal significance.

In his verse on the sea, he says the sea may at times transgress its coastal limit (maryādā) but never violates the self-imposed rule (maryādā) that it would not be of any service to the thirsty.¹ In the verse भक्ति-ग्रह-विलोकन, etc. he exhibits his skill in intellectual exercises. He uses all the adjectives to Netre (neuter-dual) and tanuḥ (feminine-singular) as well as the verb in such a way that they qualify both Netre and tanuḥ without any alteration in form:—

भक्ति-ग्रह-विलोकन-प्रणयिनो नीलोत्पल-स्पर्धिनो
ध्यानालम्बनतां समाधि-निरतैर्न विहित-प्राप्तये ।
लावण्यस्य महानिधी रसिकतां लक्ष्मीदशोस्तन्वती
युष्माकं कुरुतां भवार्ति-शमनं नेले तनुर्वा हरेः ॥ SSV. 43.

In this verse the poet prays that either the eyes of Hari or his body may remove all the sorrows of the people due to the cycle of births. From the available verses, however, Amṛtadatta does not seem to have possessed a very fertile imagination and novelty of thought. His verses are rather stereotyped.

1. न पालयति मयादां वेलाख्यामम्बुधिस्तथा ।
तृप्यतां नोपकर्तव्यमितीमामपरां वया ॥ SSV. 853.

PUNḌARIKA VIṬṬHALA

Punḍarika mainly wrote on Music. He belonged to the court of Burhan Khan of the Pharuki family which ruled between 1370-1600 A.D. at Anandavalli in Khandesh. Burhan's father and grand-father were Taj Khan and Ahmed Khan respectively. Subsequently Punḍarika came to the court of Mādhavasimha of the Kacchapa dynasty, son of Bhagavantadāsa and grandson of Bhānu and composed his Rāga-mañjarī at his instance. Punḍarika was a favourite of Akbar as well.

As the Rāga-mālā of the same author is dated Śaka 1498 (1576 A.D.), Punḍarika must have flourished in the middle of the 16th century A.D.¹

HARINĀRĀYAṆA MIŚRA

The Padya-veṇī preserves two verses by this poet in one of which he praises emperor Shah Jahan (1628-1658 A.D.) and therefore, he flourished about three hundred years ago. The last line of this verse presents some difficulty in sense; probably, the readings of both the MSS. are corrupt; still, the verse² is a good one.

1. Bhandarkar's Reports, 1884-87, No. 1026.

2. भृङ्गमौलि-वटीषु, etc. PV. 141=SS. 138. For the complete verse, See Supplement: Shah Jahan.

VAMSIDHARA MISRA

The Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī preserves one verse of Vamśidhara Miśra who was a great favourite of the queen of Shah Jahan. Thus in one verse Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, favourite poet of Shah Jahan, says that he is a Lion who does not find anywhere even an elephant, all that he sees around him are really deer who are easily assailable. Vamśidhara Miśra, however, retorts him by saying that Jagannātha as the favourite of Mahādeva (Shah Jahan) is really a bull. It is he, not Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, who as a favourite of Durgā (the queen) is really the Lion and is capable of vanquishing all others.¹

1. Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī, v. 200, p. 49:—

विगन्ते भ्रूयन्ते मद-मलिन-गायडाः करटिनः
करिष्यः कारुण्यास्पदमसम-शीलाः खलु सुगाः ।
इदानीं लोकेऽस्मिन्ननुपम-शिलानां पुनरयं
नखानां पाण्डित्यं प्रकटयतु कस्मिन्मृगपतिः ॥
परिहतराजस्य ॥

Op. cit., v. 201, p. 49:—

दिङ्नागाः प्रतिपेदिरे प्रथमतो जात्येव जेतव्यतां
सम्भाव्य-स्कृट-विक्रमोऽथ वृषभो गौरेव गौरीपतेः ।
विक्रान्तेर्निकषं करोतु कतमं नाम त्रिलोकी-तले
कठेकाल-कुटुम्बिनी-करुणया लिङ्गः स कशटीरवः ॥
बंशीधर-मित्रस्य ॥

Commenting on the second verse, Jayarāma, author of Sopāna, commentary of the Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī of his father Haribhāskara, says:—

“अथैतस्यान्यापदेशस्य दिङ्मिन्द्र-शाहजहाल-महिष्याः सेवको बंशीधर-नामा

CATURBHUJA

This poet and rhetorician composed his *Rasa-kalpa-druma* for the gratification of his patron Shayasta Khan, Aurangzib's maternal uncle and General. Unfortunately, this valuable work has not as yet been published.¹ It was written in Samvat 1745 or 1689 A.D. (बाणार्षिंशशब्दाब्दे वैशाखे पूर्णिमाशुक्ले) i.e. the 31st year of Ālamgir's reign. Herein he gives the genealogy of his patron :—

Itamāddoulā
|
Asak Khān
|
Shayasta Khān²

कवियेनान्वापदेश-यद्येन प्रत्युत्तरमदात्तदुपन्यस्यति विह्नागा इति...। यदि वृषभे गौरीपति-सम्बन्धेन विक्रमः सम्भाव्यते, तथा मय्यपि कण्ठकाल-कुटुम्बिनी-सम्बन्धेन स तुल्य एव, परन्तु वृषभे जाति-कृता विक्रम-संभावना नैव प्रादुर्भवति ध्वनयन्नाह कण्ठकाल इत्यादिना.....” ।

1. Ms. belongs to the Ulwar Maharaja Mss. Library; see Peter Peterson's Catalogue of Sansk. Mss., No. 1067.

2. आद्यः सर्वमहीमुखां प्रतिभट-ध्वान्तैक-धर्मधृती

राजप्री-नववह्नि-वेष्टित-भुज-स्तम्भ-द्वयः सह्यः ।

अष्टाष्टा-करि-कर्णतालज-मल्लमूर्ध्नि-प्रतापानलः

इमाभ्युन्मौलि-छलासिताङ्गुर इतमाहौसेतिनामाऽभवत् ॥४॥

त्रिभुवन-जल-गीतोद्दाम-वाप-प्रताप-

अरब्ध-कमल-नम्रोत्सारितानेक-तापः ।

अजनि करिवरोष्णैर्मोसल-स्कन्ध-पीठः

छतनुरसक-खानः स्युनुरस्मात् क्षतारिः ॥६॥

This work consists of Caturbhujā's verses as well as those of other poets, viz. Acalarudra, Aniruddha, Avilamba, Īśvaradāsa, Ugragraha, Kāṃsanārāyaṇa, Kavindra, Kuṇḥjakuṭīra, Kulapati, Kṛṣṇānanda-Miśra, Gadādhara, Gaudayādava, King Jaganmaṇi(?), Dhakkārāva, Daśāvadhāna, Dhanadeva, Navina-Kavindra, Nāthamiśra, Pañcānana, Paraśurāma, Bhārati-Kavi, Bhūpati-Miśra, Maṇḍana, Matī, Mahāmanuṣya, Mohana-Miśra, Raghupati, Rantideva, Rāmacandra-Sarasvatī, Rāmarāma, Ruci, Vasanta, Vāṇīrasāla, Vāhinīpati, Viśvambhara, Vidyānidhī, *Shayasta Kban*, Saṃjayā(?), Kaviṛāja, Sarvadāsa, Svasthāna-Miśra, Hari-pati Bhaṭṭa and Harindra. Besides these, the verses of three women poets have also been quoted, viz. Madhura-vallī, Lakhyā and Vidyā. The pratikas of their verses are given below :—

यहानन्तु जगत्प्रसिद्धममवद्राज्यानि यद्याचका
 राजानः छलतानशाह-सदृशा ये चापरे मानिनः ।
 यद्वृत्ताश्च नृपा नृपास्त्वनुचरा यस्य प्रतापो रवि-
 श्वन्दो यस्य यद्योऽभ्युदेत्यसक-खानासीद्वृथैः सोऽद्भुतः ॥७॥
 अस्ति स्वस्तिकरः समस्त-जगती-वास्तव्य-लोकस्य यो
 अस्त-अस्त-सपत्न-मस्तक-भरो लक्ष्म्याऽतिवास्तोष्पतिः ।
 अस्त-स्तुत्य-यथा निरस्त-तिमिर-स्तोमो मनस्तस्ततः
 आस्ताखान-नृपो विहस्त-मतिभृच्छास्त्र-शास्त्रार्थ-वे ॥८॥
 जानामि दानाय छवर्ण-शैले स्तवाय तावद्वचनानि वेधाः ।
 दायस्त-खानस्य यथाप्रताप-साम्बाय सोम-धूमश्री ससर्ज ॥९॥
 तस्यानुरक्षणायैव ग्रन्थे नव-रसात्मकम् ।
 चतुर्भुजो रचयति स्वपथैश्च परैरपि ॥

1. Madhuravalli—(i) रकाशोक-कुशोदरी ; (ii) दुर्जन-विभवः ;
 (iii) बधिरस्येव सु— ; (iv) दिग्बचचुरहं ; (v) मित्र तत्र भवता ;
 (vi) निःशितं कवरी ; (vii) कुबलय-नयना

2. Lakhyā : = (i) अयमहो रजनी

3. Vidyā : —(i) अन्यास्य तास्य ।

There are sixty-five Prastāvas or chapters and one thousand verses in the *Rasa-kalpa-druma*.

LAKṢMIPATI

The lineage of the poet¹ as given by himself in the *Lipi-mālikā*² which is not published as yet is as follows:—



The date of the composition of the work is 1643 of the Śaka era i.e. 1721 A.D.

Lakṣmīpati composed the work with the object of bringing to the notice of his ruler-patron how mischief-mongers bring about the destruction of great people as well as of the poor; particularly, with the object of secur-

1. विश्व-विख्यात-भूदेवो जयदेवात्मजो महान् ।
 विश्वरूपः स्मृतो लोके चत्वारस्तु सताः स्मृताः ॥
 तेवामासः श्रीनिवासो नाम-तुल्य-गुणान्वितः ।
 वीरेश्वरो द्वितीयस्तु विद्या-विनय-विक्रमी ॥
 लक्ष्मीपतिश्चतुर्थस्तु तस्य या लिपि-मालिका ।
 विदुषां चित्त-कमले भ्रमरीवास्तु सा मृगम् ॥

2. This MS. belongs to Calcutta Sanskrit College Library, No. 2484.

ing his own position against all the odds that might befall him.¹

Mahammad Shah ascended the throne in 1720. The historical incidents dealt with in the work mostly took place between 1707 when Alamgir died and 1721, the second year of the reign of Mahammad Shah.²

1. राजकार्यकरे द्वेषस्तनयस्यापि जायते ।
 तद्वशात्तस्य वैशुन्यं क्रियते निखिलैर्जनैः ॥
 राजान्तिके तदुक्त्या तु क्रियते तेन तत्परः ।
 सङ्कार-सर्वं ह्रित्वा निम्बस्याऽऽरोपय्यं यथा ॥
 क्रियते केनचित्...तथा राज्ञा तु चोत्तमम् ।
 मन्त्रिणां नाशयित्वा तु क्रियते सचिवः परः ॥
 कुञ्जरो न महामात्रं विना तिष्ठति वै यथा ।
 तथा नृपोऽपि सचिवं विना तिष्ठति न कश्चित् ॥
 लोकोक्त्या मन्त्रि-विध्वंसो राजभिः सर्व-भायतः ।
 मन्यते पुरुषार्थस्तु नितराम्पुमर्थकः ॥
 अथदुहो यथा लोक-वाक्यतो भूमिजानिना ।
 निगूहीतोऽस्ति लोकानामुक्तिस्तु तथा मम ॥
 मत्स्वामिनाऽपि कर्तव्यो निग्रहस्त्विति जानता ।
 मया विलिखितं चास्ति यत्किञ्चिदत्र तत्पुनः ॥
 हिन्दुकेष्वपि यवनैर्नितरां तु पद-स्थितैः ।
 वाचनीयमिदं प्रीत्या स्व-पद-स्थैर्य-हेतवे ।
 लोकोक्त्या न मयि द्वेषः कर्तव्यो मम नाशकः ॥

2. Cf. the Later Mughals by William Irvine, ed. by (Sir) Jadunath Sarkar, vol. I (1707-1720) and vol. II (1721-1739). Calcutta, M. C. Sircar and Sons, 1922.

This work contains copious references to Akbar, Jehangir, Shah Jahan and particularly Aurangzeb.¹

Lakṣmipati deals, in this campū Lipi-mālikā, with the events leading to the campaign against Mahammad Shah, son of Aurangzeb, launched upon by his minister Abdullah and the reinstatement of the latter to the post of minister of Delhi. Abdullah, Husain Ali Khan and Surphadī Saiyed Khan were three brothers of whom Abdullah was the minister of Delhi. Husain Ali Khan was also a very influential man. Mahammad Shah was much indebted to Abdullah for many reasons; still, as he became apprehensive of the tremendous power of Abdullah, he decided to assassinate Hasan which he actually did. As a consequence, Abdullah led a vast army against him but was subsequently defeated. Mahammad's army did not kill Abdullah because he was a Saiyad. Mahammad himself reinstated him to his post of minister as a token of his previous gratitude to Abdullah. It is clear from the

1. E.g. p. 119—

धौरङ्गजेवमारभ्य व्यवहारस्त्वया किल ।

दृष्टोऽस्ति तद्विधिरेव.....

द्वारायाह निरुत्साह-युक्तं कृत्वा रखाङ्गमे ।

धौरङ्गजेव-हस्ताब्जे नय-सद्वीः समर्पिता ।

p. 129—Mahammad Shah is here addressed धौरङ्गजेव-भूनाथ-कुलाम्भोधि-कलानिधे । वेदिली मम जाताऽस्ति... ..

work that Lakṣmipati was a good Sanskrit scholar, showing here as he does his thorough acquaintance with various branches of Sanskrit literature, particularly, Nyāya,¹ Jyautiṣa² and Tantra.³ He also profusely quotes many maxims, verses from the Bhagavad-gītā, the Bhāgavata and so on. He shows his proficiency in the Koran as well.⁴

That Lakṣmipati was thoroughly conversant with Arabic and Persian is evidenced by his use of a large number of Arabic and Persian words in his composition. Although the value of this sort of admixture of different languages may be questioned, it must be said to his credit that the sense and the metre are not in any way jeopardised E.g.

P. 5 स नरो गोस्तनीं त्यक्त्वा करोति गोस्त (گوشت)⁵-भक्षणम् ।

P. 5 यतस्ततो मया भुक्त्वा जहरं (زهر)⁶ त्यज्यते वपुः ।

P. 9 गुणाहमन्तरा (گناه)⁷ लह्नुं करोति स्वस्य दिक्षके (دل)⁸ ।

P. 9 अश्रामि च तयोर्दत्तं पञ्जरस्थित-सेरवत् (شور)⁹ ।

P. 9 कम्बुकः (کامبخت)¹⁰ सोऽपि हातव्यः कुलद्रुम-कुठारकः ॥

P. 10 स वावरहितो... जवावं (جواب)¹¹ किं प्रदास्यति ।

1. E.g. p. 186, प्रतिबन्धक-काले तु न कार्य-कारणादपि । जायते तु etc. ; p. 104, घटेन दण्ड-कार्येण, etc.

2. E.g. pp. 202-205. 3. Śaṭ-cakra-nirūpaṇa, p. 130.

4. E.g. p. 81—योक्तिपुरुषयोर्वैरं निषिद्धमस्ति वे यथा ।

5. Flesh...(here, beef).

6. poison.

7. Without vice.

8. In the soul.

9. Like a lion.

10. Sinner; unfortunate. 11. Reply.

- P. 10 वजीरेषु (وزیر) ¹ च योषित्सु दुष्मणिः (دشمنی) ² वैविधीयते ।
 P. 11 चन्द्रेण मुखरी (مشرقی) ³ भार्या सर्वदा वस्त्रि-वन्दिता ।
 „ „ शराव (شراب) ⁴ पानतो नष्ट-वर्मेः (چشم) ⁵ वृषति-नन्दनैः ।
 P. 12 सदान्धस्तु यथा पोलो (پیلر) ⁶ महामालस्य, etc.
 „ „ तत्कालमेव खवर (خبر) ⁷ ग्राहकेण सुखदिना ।
 P. 13 माहताव (مہتاب) ⁸ कर स्पष्टमम्भोजमिव दृश्यते ।
 „ „ शुभाह गोखल (غسل) ⁹ कृत्वा...
 P. 80 हिलालमन्तरा (هلال) ¹⁰ चन्द्र आशमाने (آسمان) ¹¹ न विराजते ।
 P. 81 दलिलम (دلیل) ¹² लि मे सत्य...
 „ „ फामोशी (فراموشی) ¹³ न विधातव्यः वरदास्त ¹⁴ (برداشت)
 विधीयताम् ।

Lakṣmīpati was also thoroughly conversant with the political conditions of the whole of the North India of his time as copious references to many places and personalities show.¹⁵ He was not only a poet but also a good historian. It is, however, regrettable that he sometimes lets his imagination get the upper hand with the result that the facts stated are at times exaggerated.

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------|
| 1. Vizir | 2. Enmity. |
| 3. Jupiter. | 4. Wine. |
| 9. Elephant. | 7. News. |
| 9. Bath. | 10. Crescent. |
| 12. Bond; evidence. | 13. Anger. |
| | 14. Tolerance. |

15. E.g. करोति मिरजुमला स्तुतिं यस्य तु सर्वदा ।

अबहुल्लेन किं तेन क्रियते ज्ञायते न सत् ॥

पठाना रोहलाकाश्च मुगला खेयदास्तथा ।

येनाऽऽत्मीयाः कृताः सन्ति तेनाद्ये किं विधीयते ॥

इक्का-प्रदेशे यथास्ति भवतु-पूर्वज-सम्मतः ।

सोऽपि त्वां द्रष्टुं नायाति अबहुल्ल-भयान्वितः ॥ P. 113.

PROPAGATION OF SANSKRITIC LEARNING DURING MUSLIM RULE

In Mediaeval ages the Mahomedan rulers devoted much attention to the spread of Sanskritic knowledge and Culture. In this respect the attention of the Moslem rulers of Bengal was first drawn to the two great Epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. Nasir Shah of Bengal (1282-1325 A.D.) to whom our great Vidyāpati dedicated one of his *Padas*,¹ ordered the first Bengali rendering of the Mahābhārata. It is not exactly known whether Kṛttivāsa undertook the execution of the Bengali version of the Rāmāyaṇa at the instance of a Moslem ruler or of Kaṁsanārāyaṇa. Even though the latter might have ordered the same, the initiative was certainly obtained from Nasir Shah. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa was translated into Bengali by Mālādhara Basu at the instance of emperor Husain Shah. Kavindra Parameśvara translated up to the Strī-parvan of the Mahābhārata by order of Parāgal Khan, general of Husain Shah. The encouragement Parāgal gave the poet is unique. Every evening he and his courtiers congregated in his palace at Parāgalpur in Feni for listening

1. In one of his *Padas*, Vidyāpati respectfully refers to another of Bengal, viz. Sultan Ghiyasuddin II (1367-1373 A.D.).

to Kavindra's translation. His son Chuṭi Khān also encouraged Śrikara Nandin for carrying out a similar work. When he became the Governor of Chittagong, he ordered Śrikara to translate the Aśvamedha-Parvan of the Mahābhārata which he did.

Not only the rulers of Bengal but also the Imperial rulers of Delhi encouraged the propagation of Sanskritic learning in various ways. Bābar was a firm believer in Hindu Astronomy which, consequently, became a very popular subject for studies throughout his kingdom. He makes significant remarks about this science in connection with the observatory at Samarqand the calculations of which were followed by all Indian Mahomedans.¹ Nothing much about Humāyūn's enterprise for the spread of Sanskritic learning or his encouragement to Sanskritic scholars is known. But his great son Ākbar compensated enough for this lack, if any, on his father's part. In 1582 A.D., he ordered Naqīb Khān to translate the Mahābhārata. He evinced much personal interest in this work. He personally explained to Naqīb night after night the procedure to be followed for its successful execution. He ordered Ābdul Qādir, author of the Tārikh-i-Badāūnī, to assist Naqīb in this

1. Erskine's *Memoirs of Babar*, pp. 50, 51. Ulugh Beg Mīrzā entrusted the charge to Qāzīzādah Rūmī; on his death, to Maulānā Ghiyasuddin Jamshīd; and subsequently to Ibn' Alī Muhammad Koshjī.

work. Two *parvans* were translated within a few months. Then Mulla Sherī and Sulṭān Ḥājī Thāneswarī collaborated. Shaikh Faizi was engaged in versifying the rough translation, but he progressed only up to the second Book. Ḥājī who was engaged in revising Faizi's work was dismissed after he had finished only a fraction of the work. This work was not a literal translation but really a summary of this great epic. This condensed version was named *Razm-Nāmah* or *Book of War*.¹ Subsequently it was highly decorated with pictures. For the MS. of this work Akbar spent £40,000. The preface to the work was written by Abul Fazl and copies of the work were distributed among the nobles.² By order of the emperor, Abdul Qādir began the translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in 1585 A.D. and completed the same in 1589 A.D.³ At his instance, again, a converted Mahomedan of the South and Ābdul Qādir began the translation of the *Atharva-veda*. On account of their failure in doing the work properly, it was entrusted to Shaikh Faizi. Subsequently, however, the duty devolved upon Ḥājī Ibrahim Sarhindi.⁴

1. Martin notices in his *Miniature Painting and Painters of India, Persia and Turkey*, vol. I, p. 127, that the MS. is at present at Jaipur.

2. Gladwin's *Āin-i-Akbarī*, p. 85; and *Tārīkh-i-Badāūnī*; Elliot, V, p. 537-538.

3. *Tārīkh-i-Badāūnī*, Elliot V, p. 539.

4. Lowe's *Muntakhabul-Tawārīkh*, vol. II, p. 216.

Faizi translated into Persian the *Līlāvati* and Mukammal Khān Gujrātī the astronomical work *Tājik*. Maulānā Shāh Muhammad Shāhbādi translated the *History of Kashmir* in Sanskrit into Persian. This history translated is, probably, to be distinguished from the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* as Maulānā Imāmuddīn is the reputed translator of this work.¹ A Persian version of the *Hari-varṇa* was made by Naṣrullah Muṣṭafā and of the *Pañcatantra* under the title *Kalīlab-Damnab* by Maulānā Ḥusiani Wāiz. An easier adaptation of the latter work was also made under the title 'Ayār-Dānish.'² The model of *Layalā* and *Majnūn* was followed in the Persian version of the famous story of *Nala* and *Damayanti* under the title *Nal-Daman*.³ The Emperor ordered Abdul Qādir to translate the *Dvātriṃśat-Puttalikā-siṃhāsana*⁴ with the help of a learned Brāhmaṇa under the title *Khīrad-Afzā-Nāmah*.⁵ The *Gaṅgādhara* and the *Maheśa-Mahānanda* were translated under the general supervision of Abul Fazl.⁶

1. Elliot V, p. 478; Asiatic Researches, vol. XV, p. 2; and Blochmann's *Āin-i-Akbarī*, vol. 1, p. 106.

2. Gladwin's *Āin-i-Akbarī*, p. 87.

3. Faizi's collection was in possession of 101 copies of this work; *Tārīkh-i-Badāūnī*, Elliot, V, p. 548.

4. Also called *Siṃhāsana-dvātriṃśat*, *Vikramārka-carita*, *Dvātriṃśat-puttalikā-siṃhāsana*, *Dvātriṃśat-puttalikā* and *Siṃhāsana-dvātriṃśikā*.

5. *Tārīkh-i-Badāūnī*, Elliot, V, pp. 483, 484 and 513.

6. Blochmann's *Āin-i-Akbarī*, p. 104.

Dara Shikoh was a *very great* Sanskrit scholar. He patronised a very large number of Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas hailing from all over India, particularly, Benares and with their help, he translated into Persian several Upaniṣads under the name *Sirr-ul-Akbar* or the Great Secret. He states in the preface to the work that he became a disciple, while at Kashmir, of a great Sufi called Mullā Shāh and studied a lot about Sufi-ism. His labour was in vain; Sufi-ism could not give the peace of mind he was earnestly seeking for. This, however, he obtained from a study of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads.¹ On account of his very deep interest in Sanskrit and great respect for Hindu Culture, he always engraved "Prabhu" or Lord on his Diamond-rings and other valuable articles. His *Sirr-ul-Akbar* was completed in 1657 A.D.² He also translated the *Yoga-Vāsiṣṭha* though two earlier Persian translations of this already existed, one being executed under the patronising care of his great-grand-father Akbar. In order to demonstrate a real harmony between Sufi-ism and Hindu pantheism he composed in 1654 A.D. a very valuable work called *Majma-ul-Bahrain* on the technical terms of Hindu pantheism and their equivalents in Sufi phraseology. In his grand work *Mukālamah-i-Bābā Lāl Das* he deals

1. *Alamgīr-Nāmah*, Elliot, VII, p. 179.

2. Anquetil-Dupéron published a Latin translation of this work in 1801; see Constable's *Bernier*, p. 323 n.

with, in course of a dialogue between himself and Bābā Lāl Dāsa, the ideals of Hindu asceticism.

Dārā Shikoh, probably, got much encouragement in his Sanskritic studies from his maternal uncle Shayasta Khan who was so well-versed in Sanskrit that he used to compose verses in it. Six of them are quoted in Caturbhujā's *Rasa-kalpa-druma* which is not as yet published and a MS. of which is in the possession of Ulwar Maharaja's MSS. Library.¹ The *Pratikas* of the verses are given below:—

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| i. करान् प्रसार्य | iv. किशुक-व्याजतो |
| ii. वस्तुतः शुद्ध आत्मा | v. नीरादेव जनुः |
| iii. गन्तव्यान्नाविक | vi. चाराम्बु-मधु— |

This was indeed a great age when the Mahomedan aristocrats, Princes, etc. not only cared whole-heartedly for Sanskritic studies but themselves contributed to Sanskrit Literature.

The Mahomedan rulers helped the spread of Sanskritic learning in another way as well. That is no less important than their personal initiative in having important Sanskrit works translated into vernaculars or Arabic and Persian. The Hindu nobles and Chiefs followed the noble example set by them. Thus, the noble initiative of the Mahomedan rulers gained in momentum in course

1. Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Ulwar by Peter Peterson, Bombay, 1892, MS. No. 1067. For details, see pp. 78-80.

of time and a great enthusiasm for Sanskritic learning, prevailed throughout the country. It is during the Moslem rule in Bengal that she came to the fore-front of Sanskritic learning and two new important branches of Sanskritic studies, viz. the Navya-Smṛti and the Navya Nyāya, came into existence.

Thus we see, many Moslem rulers of India, Chieftains as well as Emperors, contributed to the spread of Sanskritic learning in the following main ways: (1) by liberally patronising many scholars in various branches of Sanskrit Literature such as poetry, astronomy, philosophy, etc.; (2) by themselves composing Sanskrit verses, etc.; (3) by themselves composing works, in Arabic and Persian, on Sanskritic learning and Culture; (4) by translating themselves various Sanskrit works into Arabic, Persian and Vernacular; (5) by making great Sanskrit scholars translate well-known Sanskrit works into Arabic, Persian and Bengali. From the evidences adduced above, we can at once trace the fusion of Hindu and Moslem culture from the eleventh century A.D.



SUPPLEMENT

I

TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF SOME LAUDATORY VERSES ON THE MAHOMEDAN PATRONS OF SANSKRITIC LEARNING.

PATRONS			NO. OF VERSES
1.	Akbar	...	5
2.	Emperor of Delhi	...	1
3.	Jahangir	...	1
4.	Muddafar Shah	...	1
5.	Nizam Shah	...	10
6.	Shah Jahan	...	2
7.	Sher Shah	...	1



TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF SOME LAUDATORY VERSES ON MUSLIM RULERS OF INDIA

I. AKBAR

1. [अथ राज-वर्णनम्]

शार्दूलोऽसि प्रक्षोभ्ये मदकल-करटी मांसल-स्कन्ध-कूटे
दोःस्तम्भे नागराजो ध्वनिषु जलधरः केशरी मध्यदेशे ।
धम्मिल्ले ध्वान्त-धारा मनसि जलनिधिर्भ्रू-युगे काल-दण्ड-
स्तत्सत्यं श्रीहुमाऊ-कुलतिलक-मणे भीषणाद्भीषणोऽसि¹ ॥
॥ अकबरीय-कालिदासस्य ॥

[DESCRIPTION OF THE KING]

As regards your forearm, you are a tiger; as regards your shoulder, a fleshy intoxicated elephant; as regards your pillar-like arms, a noble elephant; as regards your voice, cloud; as regards your waist, a lion; in your sword, there is immense darkness; as regards your mind, you are an ocean; as regards your eye-brows, the staff of death; there is no doubt, O scion of the family of Humāyūn, that you are more terrible than the terrible one (Yama).

2. [अथ सङ्गः]

हस्ताम्भोजालि-माला नख-शशि-रुचिर-श्यामलच्छ्वाय-भोची
तेजोऽग्नेर्धूम-धारा वितरण-करिणो गण्ड-दान-प्रणाली ।
वैरि²-श्री-वेणि-दण्डो लवणिम-सरसी-बाल-शैवाल-वल्ली
वेङ्गलम्भोदरभीरकवर-धरणीपाल-पाणी कृपाणी³ ॥
अकबरीय-कालिदासस्य ।

1. PV. 53.

2. V.r. वरभी०

3. P.T. 89=PV. 138=PR. 21. 37

The sword shines in the hand of Emperor Akbar (as it were) like a swarm of bees on the hand-lotus, the agreeable and dark shade of the moon-like nails, the column of smoke of the fire of prowess, the flow of ichor on the temple of the elephant of Gift,¹ the stuff-like plaited hair of the Fortune of the enemy,² the young duck-weed (*Blyxa Octandra*) growing in the lake of beauty,—the sword which is as graceful as (the dark) cloud.³

3. [अथ रण-प्रयाणम्]

गात्री-जङ्गलुदांन-क्षितिप-कुलमणे[ः]द्राक् प्रयाणे प्रतीते

प्रेयस्यः प्रारभन्ते तरलतर-गति-व्याकुला मन्त्रलानि ।

नेलाम्भः-पूर-पूर्ण-स्तन-कलश-मुखन्यस्त-बाल-प्रबाला-

स्तुब्धान्मुक्ता-कलाप-च्युत-कुच-कुसुमच्छयना कीर्ण-लाभाः ॥

1. This implies the generosity of the King.

2. I.e. the emperor is pulling the hair of Lady Fortune of his enemy. This implies that his rivals are constantly under his strict control.

3. The sword is here compared to various dark objects. Thus:

Hand of Akbar compared to	His sword compared to
1. lotus	1. swarm of black bees.
2. moon (finger-nails)	2. dark spot of the moon
3. fire	3. smoke issuing from it.
4. elephant of Gift	4. ichor flowing from it.
5. x	5. plaited hair
6. lake of beauty	6. duck-weed.

O Gāzi Jallaluddin, the foremost of all kings, as soon as your beloved ones are convinced of your march for conquest they,—moving to and fro in confusion—begin to perform the auspicious rites; their children are the tender leaves on the tops of the breast-pitchers filled up with tears and they go on scattering fried rice under the pretext of falling pearls and the flowers dropping down from their breasts.¹

4. [अथ रणः]

वीर त्वं कर्मकं चेदकबर कलसस्युप्त-टङ्कार-घोषं

दूरे सद्यः कलङ्का इव धरणिभूतो यान्ति कङ्काल-शेषाः ।

शङ्कापत्रश्च किं कारणमिति मनसा आन्ति-पङ्कान्तिन

लक्ष्म्याऽऽङ्कारमङ्काद्विखजति गृहिणी किं च लङ्काधिनाथः² ॥

The emperor on the battle-field.

O Akbar the hero! when you carry the bow with a terrible twanging sound, the stain-like Kings reduced to skeletons immediately recede to a great distance. The

1. For the performance of auspicious rites, new mango-leaves are placed on the top of pitchers filled with holy water. Further, fried rice is scattered all around. Here the breasts of the ladies of the harem soaked with their tears are conceived as pitchers filled with holy water and the suckling babes as the fresh leaves covering the top of the pitchers; and the pearls and flowers, torn asunder in distress, as the fried rice scattered all around.

2. PT. 97=SS. 158

king of Lanka seized with terror, shunning his pride as a consequence of his mind being besmeared with the mud of confusion about the (real) cause, abandons his wife.¹

5. [अथ कीर्तिः]

विस्फूर्त्तं व्योम-गङ्गामल-शुक्ल²-लहरी-कैतवात् केसराली-
 रुच्छैर्मास्तव्य³-देशे हिमकर-कपटान्मण्डलीकृत्य पुच्छम् ।
 दिङ्नागारब्ध-भ्रम्यस्त्व⁴ विशद-यशःकेसरी काविलेन्द्र⁵
 ब्रह्माण्डारण्य-वीथी-गिरि-गहन-दरी-संक्रमो चक्रमीति⁶ ॥
 [अकवरीय-कालिदासस्य]

Fame.

O Lord of Kabul, the great lion of your fame is again and again roaming about, having spread out its manes in the form of transparent and big waves of the Mandākinī, and having coiled up its tail on its lofty head in the form of the Moon,⁷ and having jumped upon the

1. The king of Lañkā is unable to determine the cause of the terrible sound of the Emperor's bow and of the immediate destruction of the enemies of the Emperor. This confuses his mind which again makes him give up his pride and run away, leaving even his wife behind.

2. v.r. SS. राक्ताकलशुक्लं

3. v.r. SS. मस्तिक-देशे

4. v.r. SS. भ्रम्यस्त्व ।

5. v.r. SS, पुञ्जरेन्द्र

6. PV. 77=SS. 80.

7. Here the fame of the king is conceived as a mighty lion as high as the sky. So the manes of the lion are said to be the waves of the celestial river Mandākinī while the coil of its tail, the moon.

quarter-elephants¹ and having come into contact with all the forests in the world and the deep caves in mountains.²

2. EMPEROR OF DELHI

राजेति क्षत्रदाकरं विजयते दानोरुलक्ष्मीरिति
 स्वर्नागं बहु-बाह्विनीपतिरिति क्षीरोदमास्कन्दति ।
 दुर्गाभीश इति स्फुटं पुररिपुं विद्वेष्टि भोगोद्भट-
 श्रीरित्यर्दति बाह्वर्किं स्व-यशसा दिव्योन्द्र चूडामणिः ॥
 बायीकण्ठाभरणस्य ।

As a king³ the paramount lord of Delhi puts the Moon to shame and the Airāvatas that is exquisitely beautiful on account of shedding ichor,⁴ challenges the Kṣīroda sea which is the lord of many rivers,⁵ rivals,

1. I.e. the King's fame spread over the quarters. It implies that the King's fame spread far and near on all sides.

2. I.e. just as a lion has access even to a deep and remote forest, caves etc., so the king's fame is resounding in every nook and corner of the world.

3. Here the pun is on the word Rājan:—1 king ; 2 Moon.

4. The pun here is on the Dānorulakṣmī. In the case of the king, his fortune has increased immensely by the practice of charity while in the case of the elephant, it means whose beauty has increased immensely by the flow of ichor.

5. Here the pun is on the word Bahuvāhinipati. In the case of the king it means the lord of many armies while in the case of sea, it means the lord of many rivers.

openly the enemy of the (three) cities i.e. Mahādeva, lord of Durgā¹ and torments Vāsuki possessing a supremely beautiful hood² on account of his fame.

3. JAHANGIR

१.१

श्यामं यशोपवीतं तव किमिति मदी-संगमात् कुल जातः
सोऽयं शीतलशु-कन्द्या-पयसि कथमभूत्तज्जलं कजलाकृतम् ।
व्याकुल्यन्नूरदीन-क्षितिरमण-रिपु क्षोणिभूत-पद्मलाक्षी-
ललाचीणाधु-धारा-समुदित-सरितां सर्वतः सङ्गमेन³ ॥

Why is your sacred thread black? On account of its contact with tuk? Wherefrom is it (nill)? From the water of the Nerboda. How did its water become tinged with collyrium? On account of its union with all around, the rivers originating from the ceaseless blow of tears of lakhs of the (beautiful) ladies with long eye-lashes (of the courts) of the hostile kings of the infuriated king Nūrdīna.

4. MUDDAFAR SHAH

आकाश प्रसर प्रसर्पत दिशस्त्वं पृथ्वि पृथ्वी भव
प्रलक्ष्मीकृतमादिराज-यशसां युष्माभिश्चञ्जम्भितम् ।
श्रीमुदाफर-शाह-पार्थिव-यशोराशोः समुज्जम्भयाद्-
बीजोच्छ्वास-विदीर्ण-दाडिम-दशां ब्रह्माण्डमारोचयति ॥

1. Here the pun is on the word Durgādhīśa. i. The lord of many fortresses; ii. Śiva; Lord of Durgā.

2. Here the pun is on the word भागोज्जदग्री meaning in the case of the Emperor of Delhi—i. Whose great fortune increases enjoyment; and the case of Vāsuki—ii. whose beauty is enhanced by its hood.

3. Rasa-Gaṅgādhara, p. 703.

O sky, widen yourself; O quarters, you too extend yourselves; O earth! You too be larger; you (all) have witnessed the glorious upheaval of the fame of Veṇa. The Universe will attain the plight of a pomegranate bursting on account of the swelling up of the seeds due to the wide extension of the fame of king Muddafar Shah.¹

5. NIZAM SHAH

१. [अथ सौन्दर्य-प्रधाना नृप-स्तुतिः]

अयं कामो निजामो वा किं त्वया न्ववधारितम् ।

इति दृष्टिरिव प्रष्टुं क्षुतिं श्रयति सुभ्रुवाम्^२ ॥

॥ भावुकरस्य ॥

King's physical charm.

Whether this is Nizam or Cupid—what do you think—in order to ask this as it were the eye of the lovely-browed (ladies) approaches the ear.³

1. The sense is that the earth, etc. witnessed glory of former kings such as Veṇa but they did not burst then. The fame of Muddafar Shah is such that the earth is unable to bear it and is on the point of bursting asunder, so to speak.

2. Padya-racanā, 17.6

3. I.e. the eyes of these damsels are so large that they are conceived as stretching up to the ear (ākarnavistṛta). The sense is that even exquisitely beautiful damsels are enamoured of the physical charm of the king and taking him to be Cupid incarnate.

[अथ राज-वर्णनम्]

सोणीकाम निजामशाह विलसत्-सिन्दूर-कुन्द-स्रजि
 स्रष्टा त्वचरणं विधाय निदधे वैरि-भ्रियो मूर्धनि ।
 सीमन्तस्य वक्त्रास्ति काऽपि सरणिलस्योर्ध्व-रेखादयः
 सिन्दूरस्य कणा जयन्ति किरणाः कुन्दानि मन्ये नखाः¹ ॥

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

O Nizam Shah longed for by the world, the creator made your foot and placed the same on the head of the beautiful wife of your rival king shining with vermilion and a garland of *kundas*.² The parting of the hair (of that lady) shines as the shooting upward lines of your feet; the particles of vermilion (looking like rays) triumph (too); and methinks, the *kundas* are the nails (of your feet).

[अथ राजः सोन्दर्योत्कर्षवर्णनम्]

मेदो वाचि दशोर्जलं कुचतटे स्वेदः प्रकम्पोऽधरे
 पाण्डुरार्णवतटी वपुः पुलकितं लीनं मनसिष्ठति ।
 आलस्यं नयन-भ्रियधरणयोः स्रम्भः समुज्जम्भते
 तत् किं राजपथे निजाम-धरणीपालोऽयमालोकितः³ ॥

[भानुदत्त-कृत-रस-मञ्जर्याः]

1. Padya-racanā, 16.4

2. So it turns out that the rival of the king is always under his control.

3. Rasa-mañjarī, Benares ed., v. 121, p. 190.

Bhānudatta gives this verse as an illustration of all the *sātvika-bhāvas*, or bodily signs due to amorous sentiments manifesting themselves all together. The idea is that some lady has been subject to all the *Sātvika-bhāvas* all at once; this is only possible if a handsome and pleasant personality

Personal charm.

The choking of the voice, water in both the eyes, perspiration of breasts, tremulation in the lower lip; cheeks white, (entire) body horripilated and the mind (is) merged; the dimness of the beauty of the eyes and the motionlessness of the feet are on the increase. Is it then that the Nizam is seen on the high street?

[अथ गान्ध्याः]

धरणिधर निजामशाह सुष्मत्-कर-करवाल-कराल-कालसर्पः ।
द्विषदसु-पवनं निपीय-पीनो दिशि दिशि मुञ्चति कञ्जुकं यशस्ते ॥
॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

The sword.

O King Nizam Shah, the terrible cobra in your hand, the sword, sucks in the vital breath of your enemies, attains obesity and leaves off its skin, your fame, on all sides.¹

like the Nizam be seen by her. A lady, therefore, asks her friend or the lady undergoing the Sātvika-bhāvas whether she has actually seen the Nizam on the High Street.
“नहि तादृश-छन्दरमन्त्रेण सहैव सर्वे सात्त्विक-विकारा उल्लसेयुरिति तात्पर्यम् ।

इह स्वर-भक्ष-स्वेद-कम्प-वैवर्त्य-रोमाञ्ज-प्रस्रव-जृम्भा-स्तम्भा-स्फुटा एव ।
अपर-कम्पेन सुम्बन-स्पृहा ; गण्ड-पाणिबद्धा विरह-कन्दनं ; मनोलीनतया तदेक-
तानत्वं वाद्यमेव-वैमुख्यं राज-विषयक-रतिश्च प्रतीयते ।”

1. The sword is here compared to a terrible cobra. A snake is conventionally supposed to live on air (Vāyubhuk). In the same manner, the sword is conceived as sucking in the life-breath (prāṇavāyu) of the enemies, that is why it becomes fat, and its old skin is torn asunder as a result.

स्रोणीकाम निजाम तावक-भुजं लब्ध्वा भुजश्वरं

जानीमः करवाल-काल-भुजगो किं नाम गर्भित्यभूत् ।

यद्भिन्नेभ-करोल-लोत-विगलन्मुक्ता-कलापच्छला-

दन्धामण्ड-परम्परामधिरणं स्ते स्फुरन्ती मुहुः¹ ॥

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

The sword of the Nizam

O Nizam longed for by the whole world, evidently your sword, a female-serpent, came into contact with your hand, lord of serpents, and became pregnant. Flashing again and again, she (the sword) is producing bright eggs one after another, in the guise of gems quickly dropping down from the shattered temples of (the) elephants (of rival kings²).

Description of his flag (a).

वृषति-निजाम-चमू-चरणार्पण-जनित-प्रभूत-पीडाभिः ।

रचयति बहिरिव रत्ननामरुण-श्वज-केतवादवनिः³ ॥

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

This cast off skin, white in colour, is conceived as the fame of the king (fame too is traditionally white in colour) spread far and wide. The sense is that the king's heroism gains a world-wide repute.

1. PT. 85=SS. 134.

2. Here the sword of the king is conceived as a female serpent. King's hand as a male one. The king by means of his sword is mowing down the huge elephants of rival kings and the pearls from their heads are dropping down like eggs.

3. PT. 84=SS. 143=PV. 131.

Immensely pained on account of the placing of the feet of the soldiers of Nizam the ruler, the earth throws out its tongue under the pretext of (the Nizam's) red banner.¹

Description of his flag (b).

निजाम-बन्धुभाषिणे क्षिपति शोण-कोणे दुरौ
 रणान्नख-समुद्रदः प्रतिभटं विगिन्नीकृतम् ।
 वपुर्विपुल-वैपथ्यं व्यथितमब्जिनी-प्रेयसो
 मण-ज्वर-विराड्गया किमु पताकया स्पृश्यते² ॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

When the Nizam, ruler of the earth, casts his angry look (at them), the rival fighters, very skilful in the battle-field, break atwain. The banner (of the Nizam) touches (wraps up) the body of the lover of the lotus i.e. the Sun shivering violently with the apprehension of contracting fever due to sores.³

1. The earth is conceived as a lady who being trampled down by the huge army of the Nizam puts out her tongue in exhaustion. The triumphant red banner of the Nizam is here conceived as the tongue of the exhausted earth. The sense is that the huge army of the Nizam conquered the entire world and unfurled their flag all over.

2. PV. 132.

3. The glance of the King is conceived as a sharp arrow capable of causing sores and fever even to the sun. To save the sun from this plight, the King's banner is conceived as wrapping it up. The sense is that the triumphant banner of the King is tremendously high.

दाने द्राघीयसि कपटतः स्वस्त्यि न्या स्वतिन्या
 रेखामेकां तव कृतवता पुष्करागार-भित्तौ ।
 नैव प्रापि क्वचिदपि ततः श्रीनिजाम द्वितीय-
 स्तेनाकारि स्थगित-मनसा वेधसा विन्दुरिन्दुः¹ ॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

Nizam's bounteousness.

O Nizam, a long series of (your) gifts continuing, Brahmā secretly drew a line on the wall of his lodge Puṣkara with a chalk, Mandākinī; then nowhere did he find a second to you, and therefore, he, stupefied, put in a full stop (by the side of that line) in the form of the moon.²

[राज-कीर्तिः]

विद्वद्गोप्त्री-गरिष्ठ प्रतिभट-दमन श्रीनिजाम प्रतोमः
 कृत्वा स्वकीर्ति-गाथां बहति गण-विधिं पद्मयोनिः कठिन्या ।
 वक्ता लेखा गुरुणाममृतकर-कला-कम्बु-मङ्गी-भारालोः
 शुद्धा लेखा लघूनां विस-भुजग-नमोनिप्रया-दन्ति-दन्ताः ।
 ॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

O, Nizam, the most venerable one in the assembly of the learned, the vanquished of (all) rivals, it then

1. PV. 100.

2. Here Brahmā is described as creating the celestial river Mandākinī and the Moon respectively by way of recording the bountifulness of the King and the absence of equally bountiful ruler. The Bhāgirathī is conceived here as a white chalk-mark representing the liberal disposition of the King while the moon is conceived as a full-stop excluding the possibility if any other equally liberal King.

appears that the lotus-born God (or Brahmā) composed a verse in praise of you and (now) goes on counting the syllables i.e., ascertains the long and short syllables with a chalk. The moon-digits, the conch, the Jasmine and the swan are the curved marks (of long syllables) and the lotus-stalk, the snake, the Mandākinī and the teeth of the elephant are the vertical marks (of short syllables).¹

[राज-प्रताप-वर्णनम्]

क्षोणीकाम निजामशाह भवतः ग्रीड-प्रतापान्तै-

र्द्रागैव द्रव-रूपतामुपगते चामीकराणां चये ।

भ्रश्यद्वासव-धाम-धोरणि सुहुर्मज्जद्ग्रह-ग्रामणि

क्षस्यत्-कामिनि निष्कतद्वनि तलं मेरोः समुन्मोलति ॥²

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

O, Nizam Shah, longed for by the whole world, as the masses of gold (of Mount Sumeru) are transformed

1. In Sanskrit scanning long and short syllables are marked with curved (s) and vertical lines respectively. Brahmā is here represented as scanning the verse which he composed in praise of the Nizam i.e. marking the syllables with curved and vertical lines. Now, the poet artistically represents the curved neck of the Swan, etc., as the curved lines of Brahmā's scanning while the straight lotus-stalk, etc., as the vertical lines. The sense is that all animate and inanimate beings, not only human beings but also birds and beasts, etc., like elephant, swan, serpent and inanimate objects like Lotus, Jasmine, Kunda etc., are singing the praise of the King in unison.

2. PV. 65=SSS. 105.

into a liquid form speedily on account of the mighty fire of your prowess, the Meru or the golden mount,—bereft of the stairs of the abode of Indra,¹ with the foremost planet (i.e. the Sun) frequently setting,² all the women trembling, the forests gradually disappearing,—is becoming fully expanded.³

[अथ रण-यात्रा]

अज्ञाः संजात-भङ्गा घन-वनवसति-प्राप्त-रक्षाः कलिङ्गा-

स्तैलङ्गाः स्वर्ग-रक्षाभिपश्यन् मृतयः शौर्यदृष्टाश्च वङ्गाः ।

लाटाः खिद्यन्लाटाः पद-गमन-रुढाः श्वासलोलाश्च चोला

जायन्ते धौनिजाम (?) पृथुरण भवतः प्रौढनिःसाण-नादात् ॥

March for victory.

O, Nizam engaged in severe fight, the inhabitants of Āṅga take to hills; the Kalingas take delight in residing in dense forest; the Tailāṅgas feel like bathing in the Mandākinī; the Bengalees become emaciated; the Lāṭas perspire on their forehead; the Colas (grow) deter-

1. According to Hindu mythology, the golden mount Meru or Sumeru forms the centre of the Universe round which all the planets revolve. It is supposed to be the abode of Brahmā and other gods. That is why, with the melting of the mountain, the stairs to the abode of Indra came to be destroyed.

2. The Sun being frightened of the prowess of the King thought it best to go on setting once and again.

3. As the melting gold scattered all around.

mined to walk about and (consequently) breathe heavily—due to the roaring sound of your departure.¹

Description of the battle-field.

वाह-अ्यूह खुर-क्षतां वसुमतीं संवोक्ष्य मूर्छावतीं
 भेरी-भाङ्गति-वज्रलेन पयसा वारां निधिः सिञ्चति ।
 दिग्बाला तनुते निजाम-वृषते वार्तं पताकांशुकै-
 धूर्त्तो-धोरनिरश्विनोस्तमिव प्रष्टुं दिवं भावति² ॥
 ॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

Having seen the earth unconscious on account of the sores caused by the hoofs of arrays of horses, the sea sprinkles water—restless in mind (as is evidenced by) the Bheri sounds of trumpets.³ The quarter-damsel⁴ fans (the earth) with the clothes of the banners of the Nizam⁵ and masses of dust dash towards the sky in order to ask the son of Aśvini⁶ (about the remedy for the recovery of the earth).

1. The sense is that the very preparations for Nizam's march for victory frighten all his rivals, not to speak of actual encounters with him.

2. PT. 91=SS. 168=PV. 133.

3. I.e. the roaring sound of the waves dashing against the beach.

4. The quarter is deified as a damsel.

5. I.e. the triumphant flags of the King are fluttering all around.

6. The Aśvini-kumāras are divine physicians. This implies that the King had innumerable horses.

6. SHAH JAHAN

भृशन्मौलि-तटीषु वर्षति महाधाराधरेऽस्मिन्नसौ

जाता भूप सरस्वती विजयिनी कल्लोलिनी पावनी ।

श्रीमच्छाहिजहां श्रवामि तदिदं माहात्म्यमरुहाः कथं

यस्यां मज्जति पङ्कजीयति शिरस्त्रन्मूर्धजोऽलीयति¹ ॥

॥ हरिनारायण-मिश्राणाम् ॥

When the dense cloud pours rain on the summits of the mountains, O king, the Sarasvatī becomes triumphant, sonorous and sanctifying. O Shah Jahan, I am telling you of her greatness—how the head of a person plunging her in water, is turned into a lotus and his hairs into bees.²

1. Padyaveṇī. 141=SS. 138.

The PV. preserves another verse of the same author, viz. No. 872 (on the Ganges).

निगु षाऽपि सगुणा यतस्तरिस्तद्वृश्ममातृत्रिपथे समागतम् ।

त्वं करोषि सगुणं हि निर्गुणं नोचितं तदिह ते जगदिते ॥

2. The sense is that (i) the Sarasvatī swells up if there is heavy rain in the mountains; (ii) if the Emperor beheads the Kings, the red-coloured Sarasvatī comes into existence out of the blood flowing from them.

The first meaning is that the water of the Sarasvatī enhances the beauty of the bathers; the second meaning is that the destruction of the enemies by the king ensures the permanent peace and happiness of the inhabitants.

For Jagannātha's verse referring to Shah Jahan, see p. 50 f.n. 1.

(दिल्लीवज्रभ-पाणि-पङ्कव-तले नीतं नवीनं वयः ।)

7. SHER SHAH

श्लोकार्धे वा तदर्धे यदि हि विनिहितं वृषणं दुर्दुर्लभैः

किं नरिच्छन्नं तदा स्यात् कवि-कुल-विदुषां काव्य-कोटीश्वराणाम् ।

बाहाव्ये द् गन्धवादाधिक-सुभग-रयाः पञ्चषाः काण-खजाः

का हानिः सेरसाह-वृत्तिप-कुलमणोरश्व-कोटीश्वरस्य ॥¹

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

If the critics find some fault with one-half of a verse (of mine) or even with one-half of that (i.e. one-fourth of the whole verse), what harm accrues to me, the most learned of all poets and the composer of millions of poems. What is the harm accruing to the paramount lord Sher Shah if out of his million of horses, only five or six, speedier than air, happen to be one-eyed and lame.

SUPPLEMENT

II

आसफ-विलास आख्यायिका

श्रीगजवदनाय नमः

अस्ति समस्त-प्रशस्त-भूपाल-मस्तक-मणि-मयूख-
माला-लालित-चरण-नख-शरदिन्दु-चन्द्रिका-चय-चम-
त्कार-चुलकित-चराचरांतर-तिमिर-धोरणिः सपुलक-
सुरासुर-सुन्दरी-समुद्गीयमान-स्फारपारदपरंपरा-सहो-
दरयशःसुधा-पटल-सङ्गवामाङ्गित-वामाङ्गीक-वामदेव-
कलेवर-प्रतिभटीकृत-लोकालोकावनिधरो महस्तरुण-
तरणि-किरण-सरणि-समुद्धासित-जगदण्ड-मण्डल-पुण्ड-
रीकः साहिजहानाभिधश्चक्रवर्ती ॥ अपि च ॥

पारीद्राणां धुरीणैरवनिधर-गुहा-गर्भतः प्रोत्पतद्भिः
स्वाप-भ्रंशापराध-प्रचलित-नयन-प्रांतमाकर्ण्यमानः ।
यत्प्रस्थानांतरुद्यत्प्रलय-जलधर-ध्वान-धिक्कार-धीरो
घृष्ट-क्षीरोद-तीरो जगति विजयते दुन्दुभि-द्वंद्वनादः ॥१॥

द्वारांदोलन्मदांध-द्विरद-घनघटा-गण्ड-पट्ट-प्रसर्प-
 हानोदाम-प्रणाली-मिलदलिवलयोद्गीत-चाप-प्रतापाः ।
 भृपास्तेऽपि प्रभातोन्मद-कमलसमुल्लासि-शोभाभिरामां
 दैन्य-ग्रामांधकार-कथन-दिनकृतो यस्य दृष्टिं श्रयन्ते ॥२॥
 यस्योदाम-दिवानिशार्थि-विलसद्दान-प्रवाह-प्रथा-
 माकर्ण्यविनि-मण्डलागत-वियद्वंदीन्द्र-वृन्दाननात् ।
 ईर्ष्या-निर्भर-फुल्ल-रोमनिकर-व्यावलगदूधः]स्रवत्-
 पीयूष-प्रसरैः सुरेन्द्र-सुरभिः प्रावृट्पयोदायते ॥३॥
 रुदतो निशि शैशवेन दूरीकृत-निद्रस्य गजाननस्य गौरी ।
 उपगायति भीतये यदुद्यन्मद-यूथाधिप-यूथ-
 दानकीर्तिम् ॥४॥

स कदाचिद्विपुल-बल-वशीभवद्वसुमती-बलय-
 वेष्टनीकृत-यशोविमलांशुकः, प्रचण्ड-भुजदण्ड-मण्डली-
 भवत्कोदण्ड-निःसरत्कांड-खंडीकृताशेष-शास्त्रवः, करट-
 तट-निर्गलन्मद-द्रव-निर्झराणां संप्रति समुत्पन्नानां
 धराधर-शिशूनामिव रिंगतां मतंगजानां संघट्टैः प्रथम-
 समागम-वस्त-नवांगना-नासाग्र-लंबि-मुक्ताफल-चापल-
 मलिम्लुचानां प्रतिखुरनिकर-शिलातल-संघट्ट-समुच्छल-
 द्वियुद्धाङ्गीकृत-विपुल-विस्फुलिङ्गच्छटा-पटलानां वाजिनां

राजिभिश्च समाकुल्या सागर-सम-सेनया समावृतो
विषमतरारोहावरोहाभिः] स्वरावृत्तिभिरिव क्लेश-
प्रचुर - परिणाम - सुखाभिर्वैदिक - कर्म - सरणिभिरिव
पद्मतिभिरनाकलित-दुःखलेशं कश्मीर-देशमाजगाम ॥

यस्मिन्ननवरतमपरिमित-पयोदपटलपर्यापतत्प्रालेय-
पुंज-पंजरितेन परितः स्फुरता रजत-प्राकारेणैव गौरी-
गुरुणा हिमगिरिणा वेष्टिता, अमित-कुसुमामोद-माद्यन्-
मधुव्रत-व्रात-गीत-माहात्म्यैः कैरपि परिणत-रसभार-
तुंदिलानां फलानां प्रकरेणोपनम्र-शाखाशतैरातिथेयैरिव
गृहस्थैरसंख्यैः शाखिभिः शोभिता, परिफुल्ल-पद्मिनी-
परिषद्विधूननोद्धूत-पराग-पटल-पांडुरितैश्चंचुपुटैरतिरस-
लंपटाभिर्वरटाभिः कण्डूयित-कपोलानां राजहंसानामा-
वल्लिभिः सेवितैरैकीभवदिन्द्रनील-मणि-मयूख-मांसलाना-
मंतर्विभावनाविशेष - विलोकनीय - शेष - शिखामणीनां
सलिलानामाकरैः कमनीयतरा निविडतर - शाद्वल-
श्यामलिम्बा मरकतमणिमयीव समुल्लसति वसुमती ॥

अथ तत्र सकल-सामन्त - चक्र - चूडा-चुम्बित -
निखिल - भूमण्डल - मण्डनायित-चरण-कमल-परिमल-
लम्पटीभवद्बहल-विबुधजन-व्रात-माद्यदिदिंदिर-मञ्जुल-

गुञ्जितैर्मुखरित-हरिदंतरालो विलसित-हिमशैल-शृंग-
 स्वलत्तुंग-गंगा - तरंगाभिराम - त्विषा शरदभ्रालि - वि-
 भ्राजि-शुभ्रांशु-वरकिरण-कांतिद्विषा चतुर्दधि-पारश्लिषा
 यशः-सुधा-पटलेन परिपांडरित-जगदंड-मंडलोऽनवरत-
 विद्वद् मद्रोहि - दारिद्र्य-माद्यद्विपोदाम-दपौध-विद्रावण-
 प्रौढ-पंचाननो महामहीरुह इव द्विजकुलायहितः क्रतुरिव
 मधुरिव सकल-सुमनःप्रसादनोऽपि हिमांशुरिव सकला-
 सुमनःप्रसादनः समरार्चितोऽप्यमरार्चितः सार्वभौम-
 संबंधिषु सकलेषु सामंतेषु वाङ्मयेष्विव काव्य-कलापः
 काव्य-कलापेष्विव ध्वनिः ध्वनिषु रसो रसेष्विव शृङ्गारः
 सकल-सहृदय-हृदयंगमेन महिम्ना मधुरिम्णा च संभावितः
 सकल-शास्त्र-सारावगाही नवाबासफजाही ।

कदाचित्कुतुकाकुलतया विविध-सुमनः-समूह-
 सुषमा - समास्तरण -संभावित-विश्वंभरावलयम् उपरि -
 मिलदलि-पुंज-मंजुल-गुञ्जितैर्वन्दि-वृंद-वदन-विनिर्गत-
 विबुधविटपि-विजयविरुदावलीभिरिवानत-कंधरैरसंख्यै-
 रवनीरुहैः कठिनकर-कर-निकर-संत्तासतः शरणा-
 गतैरिव तिमिर-कुटुंबैरुबुनिकुरुंबैरापूरिताभिर्वापीभिश्च
 मनोहरमेकीकृतमिव तैलोक्यलक्ष्मी-लावण्यं निशांतोपवनं

प्रविशद्भिः (?) बाङ्मनस-वर्त्मातिवर्ति-पुञ्जीकृत-सकल-
 कुसुम-सौकुमार्य-सारमयैरवयवैः स्वयमनङ्गेनेव निर्मिताभि-
 र्भृशं नयन-निपात-स्थानीभवदङ्गाभिस्तनुतर-तनुच्छाया-
 दंतुरित-वनान्तराभिर्निकष-शिला-तलोच्छिखिताभिरिव
 काञ्चन-रेखाभिर्निबिडतर-नील-पयोद-भ्रमेणागताभिरिव
 सौदामिनीभिर्दर-विकसित-रदन-मणि-किरण-सरणि-
 समाप्यायित-चकोरोभिरुपरि विभ्राम्यमाणेनापि स्वतो
 नोराजितात्मनेव परिफुल्ल-कमलेन राजित-कर-किश-
 ल्याभिर्दूरादुन्मुक्त-पाथोरुहाणामुन्मुखं धावतामुन्मत्त-
 मधुव्रतानामालिभिराकुलीकृताभिः काभिरपि किञ्चिदुच्च-
 परिणत-फल-ग्रहण-लालसातितुङ्गीभवत्कुच-तट-
 समापतत्प्रिय-नयन-सङ्कोचेन चोन्नमित-परावर्तित-भुज-
 लताभिरन्याभिः कर-कमल-कलित-मुकुर-मण्डल-प्रति-
 बिम्बित-प्रिय-वदन-चुम्बन-मुकुलीकृताधराभिः काभिरपि
 गायन्तीभिः सारिकावलि-वृथाङ्गुली-कंप-संपादित-वीणा-
 गीत-भ्रमाभिरङ्गनाभिरनङ्गं समुच्छासयांभूव ॥

तं च गुणानां परस्पर-संसर्ग-जनित-गुरु-गर्व-
 निर्वासनाय विधिना निर्मितमिव सभा-मण्डलं परम-
 सौन्दर्य-सुन्दरी-करण-लालित-लोचन-लोभनीयमूर्तिम् ,

ताश्चानंग - सर्वस्वायमान-रूप-यौवनशालिनीरवधीनभि-
 रामता-गुणस्य निदानानि प्रथम-रसस्य अगोचरं कवि-
 गवीनाम्, तच्च निखिल-जन-नयन-निर्माण-साफल्यमिव
 वनमालोक्य चंडीश - कर - तांडवित - चंड-दंडाहति-
 खंडीकृत-कोटि-कौटीर-कोटिभिर्धरणीतल-धूलि-धवलो-
 भवदृष्टांगभिरामैः पितामहादिभिरमरनिकरैः सेवितं
 भगवंतममरेश्वराख्यं सदाशिवमर्चयितुमायातः कश्मीर-
 मंडलम् आखंडलो नयन-साहस्र-विकृतीकृताननमात्मानं,
 सुकृति - परंपरोपभोग्यास्त्रिदशतरुणीर्निशांतोपवनापहत -
 रमणीयतया निज-नयनानामनानंदनं [नं] दनं [च]
 नातिबहुमेने ।¹

अथ सकल-लोक-निस्तार-विस्तारित-महोपकार-
 परंपराधीन - मानसेन प्रतिदिनमुद्यदनवद्य-हृद्य - गद्य-
 पद्याद्यनेक-विद्या-विद्योतितांतःकरणैः कविभिरुपास्यमानेन
 कृतयुगीकृत-कलिकालेन कुमति-तृणजाल-समाच्छादित-
 वेद - वन - मार्ग - विलोकनाय समुद्घोषित-सत्तर्क-दहन-

1 It is surprising that the MS. having the colophon alright should have such an abrupt conclusion. Evidently, some portion is missing here.

ज्वाला-ज्वालेन मूर्तिमतेव नवावासफखान-मनःप्रसादेन
 द्विजकुल-सेवा-हेवाकि-बाङ्मनःकायेन मुखर-कुलसमु-
 द्रेन्दुना राय-मुकुन्देनाऽऽदिष्टेन श्रीसार्वभौम-साहिजहान-
 प्रसादाधिगत-पंडितराय-पदवी-विराजितेन लैतैल्लंग-
 कुलावतंसेन पंडित-जगन्नाथेनाऽऽसफविलासाख्येय-
 माख्यायिका निरमीयत । सेयमनुग्रहेण सहृदयानामनु-
 दिनमुल्लसिता भवताव ॥

इति श्रीतैल्लंग-वेंगिनाटीय-कुलोद्भव-श्रीपंडितराज-
 जगन्नाथ-विरचिता आख्यायिका समाप्ता ॥

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अथ संसार-संहार	... 83'39	आत्मीयं चरणं	... 72'8
अथोत्तरस्यो दिशि	... 78'4	उक्लं यत्कृपणं	... 59'42
अशारभ्य	... 21'28	उत्सष्टुमम्बुजदश०	... 82'33
अनवाप्त-वयसि	... 74'14	उद्भिदुरं स्तन-वदनं	... 74'17
अनुवनमनुयान्तं	... 84'7	उमामिमां समुद्रीक्ष्य	... 119'91
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कीडा-तुङ्ग-सुरङ्ग०	... 86'18	द्वारि सन्भविलम्भा	... 48'15
कीडामूलं दुकूलं	... 16'39	दाने द्राघीयसि	... 14'32
काञ्चीदामनिवेश०	... 46'17	दिवसे घटिकास्त्रिशत्०	... 51'34
केशः कुन्दमिषादिवो	... 51'31	देहं हेमदुति	... 37'51
कोकः स्तोफ-विसृक्त	... 51'30	देहे दुर्ललितस्य	... 50'27
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छोणीकाम निजाम०	... 16'4	धुन्वन्त्या कर-पञ्चवं	... 73'70
छोणीकाम निजाम०	... 20'26	नभोलता-कुञ्ज०	... 70'10
गजस्य पङ्क-ममस्य	... 103'70	नयनोत्पलजलधारा	... 43'15
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जोवेन तुलितं प्रेम	... 42'18	निष्पीत-पीन-तिमिराणि	... 99'43
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तादृक्पङ्क-विवर्त०	... 24'49	नीरासीरमुपागता	... 50'23
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तुषारभार-विच्छृण्यं	... 80'18	नो तावत् कलयामि	... 21'29
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वज्रोजलसिद्धत०	... 53'3	रामे माद्वणवेव०	... 3'14
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मल्लैर्भिन्नां	... 22'34	लीनानसूत्र	... 41'16
भित्तौ भित्तौ	... 72'21	वपुषि तव	... 53'2
भूयादेष सतां	... 2'10	शाणीकार्तिकरोहिणी	... 31'16
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मलय-यवन०	... 83'41	बाह-व्यूह०	... 18'14
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मुक्ते काचन-कुण्डले	... 65'37	शिरसि शिरसिजं	... 51'33
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मृगसहितं	... 116'72	शृङ्गे शिरोष-मालां	... 6'33
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List of Abbreviations

- PR. = Padya-racanā
 PT. = Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī
 PV. = Padya-veṇī
 RM. = Rasa-mañjarī
 RT. = Rasa-taraṅgiṇī
 SA. = Saḥyālaṃkaraṇa
 SHV. = Subhāṣita-hārāvallī
 SS. = Sūkti-sundara
 SSS. = Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya

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